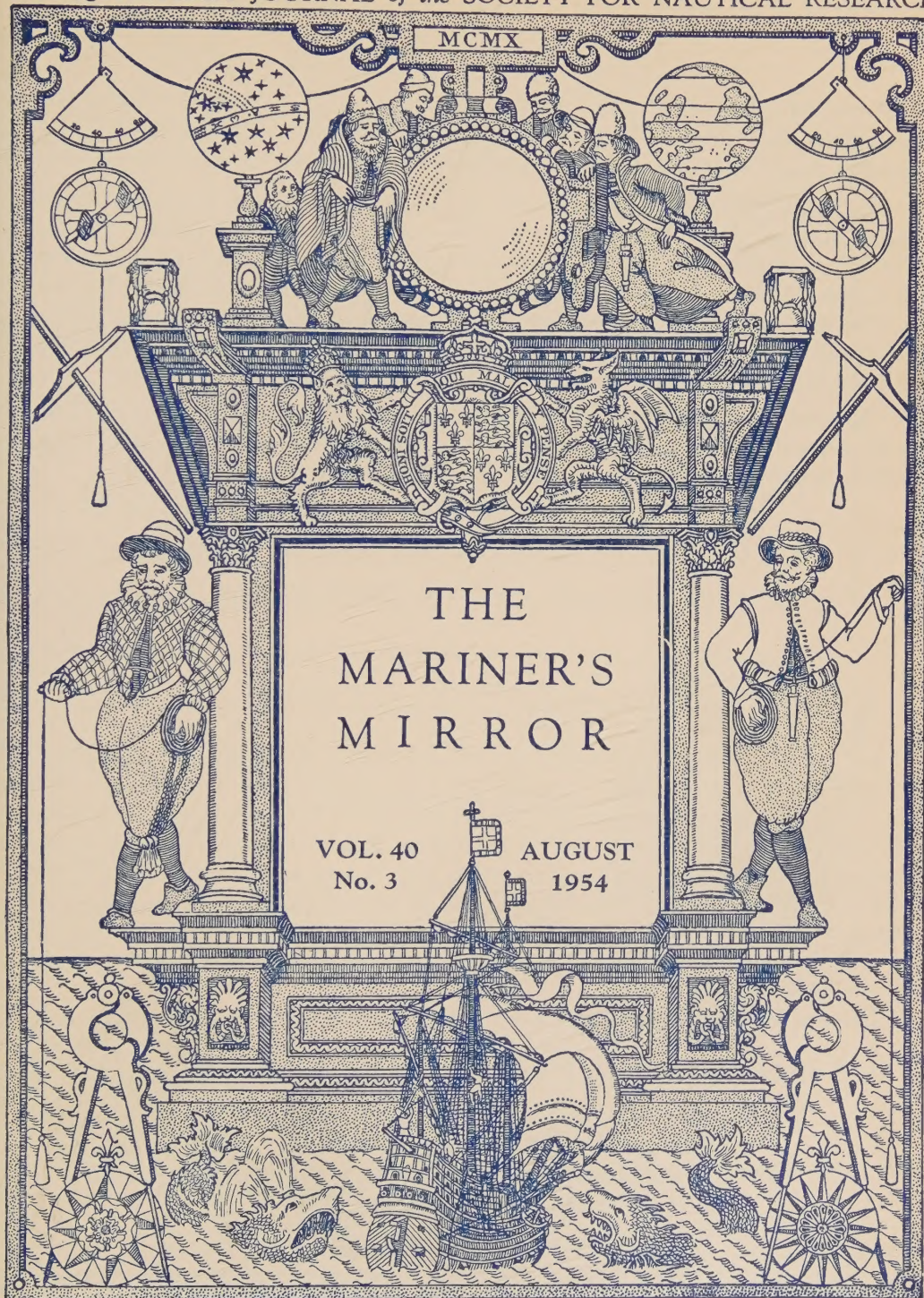


THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL of the SOCIETY FOR NAUTICAL RESEARCH



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To encourage research into nautical antiquities, into matters relating to seafaring and shipbuilding in all ages and among all nations, into the language and customs of the sea, and into other subjects of nautical interest.

The Society has erected a Monument to the Van de Veldes in St James's, Piccadilly, London; raised £107,000 to save Nelson's Flagship and has superintended the restoration of H.M.S. *VICTORY* to her appearance as at the Battle of Trafalgar; paved the way to the establishment of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and the *Victory* Museum at Portsmouth; organized exhibitions of Nelson relics and naval prints, etc.; and issued several periodical publications dealing with nautical archaeology, besides an inexpensive set of official plans (ten in number) for building a model of H.M.S. *Victory*.

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The aim of the Society being to arrive at true conclusions through free discussion, it is distinctly to be understood that the Editor is not held responsible for statements made in the *Journal*.

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Names of ships should be underlined to denote *italics*, and not written within inverted commas.

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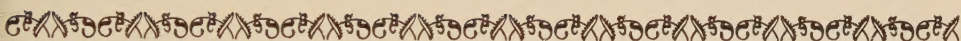
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VOL. 40. No. 3

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CONTENTS

PAGE

ARTICLES

PASSAGE IN A RED SEA DHOW. <i>By Alan Villiers</i>	171
'NEFS' OR 'CORBITAE'? <i>By G. B. Rubin de Cervin</i>	183
THE PAPERS IN THE POSSESSION OF HARRY PEGLAR, CAPTAIN OF THE FORETOP, H.M.S. TERROR, 1845. <i>By R. J. Cyriax and A. G. E. Jones</i>	186
SAILORS' BAPTISM IN SCANDINAVIAN WATERS. <i>By Henning Henningsen</i> .	196
TO RESCUE HIS HOLINESS—THE MISSION OF THE <i>Alceste</i> IN 1808. <i>By</i> <i>P. G. Mackesy</i>	206
MIDSHIPMEN. <i>By Commander C. G. Pitcairn Jones, R.N.</i>	212

DOCUMENT

THE BRIEF NAVAL CAREER OF JOHN HILL JAMES. <i>By W. E. May</i> .	220
--	-----

RECORDS

MANUSCRIPTS AT THE NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM. PART I . . .	223
---	-----

NOTES

The Battle of Cape St Vincent—Lord Cochrane on Abuses in the Adriatic —Popham's 'Telegraph' Flag—Action between H.M.S. <i>Nightingale</i> and six French Galleys—Tromp and Naval Tactics—'Rybbis' and 'Susterys' —The Norse Voyages to America—The Title of Lord High Admiral— Mungo Murray and Frederick H. Chapman—Knots per Hour—More on the Binnacle—Gangers	228
---	-----

QUERIES

Priest of the Parish—Action on Lake Champlain—Picards—M. H. Tromp —‘Oculi’ in European Craft—Hadley’s Quadrant—Propulsion in Myth- ology	240
--	-----

ANSWERS

Tug-boats—Names of Monitors—Frank Mildmay—A Lost Treatise by John Charnock—Chilingoe— <i>Katahdin</i> —Brig-cutters or Cutter-brigs— Spar Torpedo	241
---	-----

REVIEWS

A Narrative of my Professional Adventures (1790–1839) [Sir William Henry Dillon, K.C.H.]	244
The Nation and the Navy	245
Maps and their Makers	247
The Irish Sword	248

PLATES

	<i>Facing page</i>
I. Water urn and spare mainsail	182
The Nakhoda conning his ship into the anchorage at Gizan	
II. (a) Relief built into the wall of the Cathedral at Pisa	183
(b) Relief on the Leaning Tower of Pisa	

OBITUARY

VERNON C. BOYLE

Nautical Research has suffered a great loss by the death, early in June, of Vernon C. Boyle. An artist of wide renown and a scholar, his first interest was in the history of the ships and harbours of his native north Devon, on which subject he was certainly the leading authority. He was the author of numerous notes, articles—members of the Society for Nautical Research will remember his notable article and notes on ‘The Bideford Polackers’ in Vol. 18 of the *Mariner’s Mirror*—and pamphlets, besides the north coast half of *Devon Harbours*, which he illustrated with his inimitable sketches. One can, perhaps, give him no better memorial than to quote this *Journal’s* review of that book: ‘Mr Boyle writes like the native Devon-born man he is, as if he knew and loved every stick and stone of the place he is describing. . . . As, by looking at his drawings, one can visualize so easily the great fat white clouds sweeping over Bideford Bay and up the Torridge estuary, so one can hear the pleasant Devon burr in the speech of his characters when reading some story of his fellow county men.’

B. GREENHILL

PASSAGE IN A RED SEA DHOW

By *Alan Villiers*

Early in November 1938, as the beginning of his field research into Arab sailing, Mr Alan Villiers joined the small Red Sea zarook *Sheikh Mansoor* at Ma'alla for the passage to Gizan. He kept a Journal in which he recorded his impressions of the dhow and of the journey. The notes in this journal were later used in the preparation of his book *Sons of Sinbad*, which has long been out of print, but much of the information in the Journal itself has not been published. The first extract was written at Gizan after the arrival there of the *Sheikh Mansoor*.

EDITOR

THIS is being written afterwards, on conclusion of the voyage in the *Sheikh Mansoor* for there it was impossible to write.

We duly boarded the sambuk (I learned that the proper descriptive name of her double-ended Red Sea type is Zarook) at 4 o'clock on 8 November, coming aboard simultaneously with an ancient Indian under escort of police. He was a holy man from Karachi bound on the pilgrimage. The holiness seemed to be taken for granted, for he had no other occupation, and the police escort was explained by the fact that he had neglected to bring any cash. He had come to Aden in an Omani baggla from somewhere in the Persian Gulf, whither he had first made his way in a Bombay kotia which had gone there from Porbandar: I suppose eventually he would get to Mecca and I hope he finds it worth the trouble. Perhaps I wrong the old man, but I had a suspicion that his principal occupation might be begging: and I did notice that he alone of the *Sheikh Mansoor's* crowd (apart from the heathen mate) offered no prayers. He was a big man, bareheaded, with his hair and his bushy beard shot through with natural grey and artificial red: he wore beads always, and had a spare lashed in a hole in the lobe of his left ear. On his left wrist was lashed a piece of glass, cut like a crystal and held on with string. He wore a coat like Joseph's, and his luggage was a kerosene tin, hinged and stapled and apparently plentifully filled with food, and a pointed staff. He had also a small blanket of as many patterns and colours as his coat: the dominant note in both was red. This gentleman, under the watchful eye of a barefoot policeman who shook our hands by the palms and thumbs most ceremoniously, established himself at once on some sacks of flour 'midships; and the little vessel, under a rag of a jib—it was really the hoisted clew of a lateen main, sent aloft on the hauling part of a shroud tackle—moved from her moorings to single anchor by a Kuwait boom, a couple of cables away. Here, having boarded the boom armed with an order

from the Sheikh Latef and returned with a dozen packets of Basra dates (for which later we thanked God), she stayed the night, while in the early moon the sailors sat about the tiny poop admiring the treasures they had bought in Ma'alla—cheap Japanese sarongs, and lengths of cloth of divers colours, a turban or two. The contemplation of these objects seemed to give them great delight. The evening meal, which ought to have been a warning of what was to come, consisted of some exceedingly bad unleavened bread, plentifully mixed with ashes, and some dreadful pasty stuff which I could not get down. But we had brought some oranges, and raisins, and biscuits and sardines—very little, but at any rate we fared well enough while these lasted.

Towards four in the morning the *Sheikh Mansoor* sailed, with a light fair wind out of the harbour and apparently also the outgoing tide to help her. The mainsail had been bent at the anchorage and the yard hoisted with the sail fast in palm-frond stops. When she sailed they merely lifted the anchor by hand, and sheeted home the sail which instantly broke out of its stops. The Nakhoda took the tiller and she was under way, slipping along unlit and very silently under the mainsail alone. This indeed was the only sail she ever set, or had, for though she was fitted with a brief mizzen mast there was neither yard nor rigging for this, and except to get a round turn of the main-sheet, it was never used. The mizzen mast was bare and grey, for it had never been oiled: it was provided only with the two sheaves by the mast-head for the double tie of Arab halliards. We slipped out past two British tramps, in to load salt, a collier of the Baron line and a Blue Funnel liner, at their moorings: and sunrise next morning found us becalmed and rolling uncomfortably outside Aden harbour. She was deepladen and abominably stiff, rolling with a sudden jerky motion: I was pleased not to be sick. The Nakhoda, I should have said, had given me against my will his corded bed to sleep on, while he rigged the mate's and slept on that. The cords of the bed were tough and sleep uncomfortable in the best of circumstances, and I regretted to notice at once how cold it was at night for I had brought no blankets and there were none on board.

Later a faint air came up from a little south of east, and with eased sheets we coasted along South Arabia's arid shore, towards Bab-el-Mandeb. It was very hot in the sun and there was no shelter nor, indeed, did anyone seem to feel the need for any, save me. We anchored very late that night, after a long hot hungry day, in a small cove under Perim, in company with another zarook bound towards Kamaran. This was not a bad day's progress.

We were off before dawn again, the other zarook sailing first and coming into collision very mildly with us while getting way under the clew of a lateen which she hoisted as a jib. She bumped into our sanitary department,

a box lashed on the port quarter, but did even this no harm. After that we were off ourselves, and sailed all day with a good south wind bound towards the passage inside the reef, towards Gizan. I noticed very early that they had to bail an awful lot. The *Sheikh Mansoor* made a lot of water, and the only arrangement for getting rid of this was by means of a kerosene tin used in the rough well abaft the mainmast. Into this foul-smelling cavern between the cargo (which was lightly protected by date-frond mats) a man or a boy would descend each hour, while another, squatting on the deck above, lowered the tin to him, on a lanyard, and hauled it up again and emptied it into a trough leading over the side, as it was filled. They used to get ten or twelve buckets an hour, which was more than enough. Of course she was only an open boat very deep-loaded, but the weather was good and the date-matting along the sides was surprisingly efficient. Almost no water came in over the side, in spite of the fact that her freeboard 'midships could not have exceeded six inches.

Off Mocha this day, the second day out, we saw a handsome sambuk which had lost its rudder and, barging about all over the place, was sailing along under only a headsail. They did not seem to be attempting any repairs but said they were all right when we came close and offered assistance. Mosquitoes were pretty bad that night, for we were close to the shore, and later there was a heavy dew which did not add to anyone's comfort. The Yemen coastline looks interesting and in parts even fruitful, but though we anchored near the beach on several nights, we never landed there.

I was very interested to learn all I could of the way in which the ship was run, for she was something entirely new to my experience. The most primitive thing I knew, before this, had been a Tasmanian timber ketch which God knows was bad enough. But the Arab *Sheikh Mansoor*, compared with that ketch, was about as lavishly equipped as a South Seas canoe and as well-found as an Irish fisherman. Without any kind of windlass (and no anchor save two rusty small grapnels), with no boat other than a small dugout canoe which could support five expert balancers in a mill-pond, with no instruments of any kind save one ancient and very inefficient compass, without even a leadline to sound (sometimes the Nakhoda used part of a fishing-line weighted with a stone), without shelter for anyone nor a deck above the cargo nor over anyone's head, without charts, without a log, without even a pump, with nothing to cook in save a firebox and a native oven and precious little to put in either, with no one on board who could write and only one who could read, leaky, overloaded, heavily-canvassed—still that little ship wandered pleasantly enough along, delivering her cargoes in good condition at the tiny outports of one of the worst seas in the world, full of reefs and sets and maritime dangers which still, upon occasion, prove the undoing of great

steamers. She had been doing that for years. There was not even a flag on board, and no clock: no one had heard of barometers. There was nowhere to sleep save on the cargo, apart from the two rough 'beds' on the tiny poop which ordinarily were used by the Nakhoda and his mate. There was not a spare ropeyarn on board, and the sea stores for eleven souls for a week were kept in one small box, from which they mighty soon disappeared. One of the main sources of food supply was a fishing-line trailing astern, but this spent many idle days, to everyone's concern. No watches were kept, and there was no semblance of sea 'style'—no wheel turns, no set meal hours, no turns at anything. All hands were there all the time and all hands turned out for everything except bailing. As for the wheel (which was only a tiller in the *Sheikh Mansoor*) as far as I could discover the mate or one of the sailors went there, and there he stayed until it occurred to someone else to relieve him. 'Tricks' of five and six hours and even all day were not at all unknown. The food was complicated by the regrettable fact that this was the month of Ramadhan, and though there is a general dispensation for sailors and travellers from the great fast, no one took advantage of this (except the heathen mate) and no one ate or drank from sunrise to sunset. This was unfortunate and also uncomfortable. For several days, we existed on a handful of dates: we were bitten by mosquitoes, flies, bugs of all kinds: great beetles and cockroaches scampered over us. Yet we felt surprising well, and this in spite of our being constipated for five days. The sanitary arrangements were a box lashed on the quarter, a small box in which one was supposed to squat and operate through a hole in the bottom. Toilet paper was a small tin in which one hauled up tinfuls of the sea, the Moslems using the left hand to wash the anus and never using anything as unclean as paper. This method though tough at first indeed proved quite good, after a while, but the damned box was too small to squat in and altogether I was very pleased when we landed for the first time, five days out, on a small cay north of Kamaran.

Returning to the working of the ship, she anchored each night and sailed only by day, which was understandable enough in those waters. Navigation was by sight: but the Nakhoda knew his waters. Sometimes on hazy days he would send someone aloft to pick out landmarks: once or twice he sounded, and I saw there was precious little water when he did. He never took bearings: he never fixed his ship's position: he prayed to Allah, cleaned and facing Mecca five times daily (like everybody else on board, except the heathen mate), he kept his eyes open, he knew his ship, and his life had been spent in the Red Sea trade. The Red Sea, from Yenbo as far as Djibouti and Berbera (if they are in the Red Sea) was to him as familiar as a well-lit street on a citizen's homeward journey: and he knew the South Arabian coast as

far round as Sur in Oman. He was a slight thin man named Ahmed—Ahmed Mansoor—and he had been at sea since he was eight. He had known no schooling and could not read. He wore his black hair close-cropped, and his beard was small and well trimmed. His features were good and surprisingly gentle, and he had a way of looking at you, from his limpid brown eyes underneath his brows, which was most attractive. His disposition was good and he appeared to be the friend of all his crew. He was always dressed in the same manner, usually in the same clothes—a brief sarong, chequered in blue and white and coming only to the knees, a gold-and-black striped waistcoat, in the commodious pockets of which were the manifest and all the ship's papers and all the letters he had ever received: beneath this he wore a Japanese singlet, copiously ventilated, and his money-belt was covered with a multi-coloured sash about the waist, lashed tightly. He wore a small cap in white crochet, far back on his small head, and wrapped round this was a golden turban. He was always barefoot, Ashore he carried his rosary of amber beads, in his right hand, and he usually had a small cane. Ashore, too, in the manner of Nakhodas of the Red Sea, he often had his gold turban over his shoulder and only the crocheted cap on his head. Aghals, long gowns, the mushla—all these Arab appurtenances of Hejaz and of Nejd were unknown to him. Ahmed was a Yemenite, from Lohaiya (this can be spelt, like most Arabic proper nouns, in any way you choose) and he dressed as such. For that matter, I never saw a Red Sea Nakhoda in either gown or aghal. Ahmed had ordinarily a quiet manner and a soft gentle voice, and his face knew more peace than most bishops': but at times he would yell excitedly in sudden jerky sentences—manoeuvring the ship, for instance, or if the sail was torn. He was a simple man with a simple outlook: Allah and his ship seemed to fill his life to his complete satisfaction, though he told me he had a wife and three small children at Lohaiya. His eldest son, an upstanding lad of 15, was along with him as sailor in the *Sheikh Mansoor*; the boy had the keeping of the keys, and when at last Gizan was in sight, handed clean clothes up to his father from some mysterious recess beneath the poop. He was a cheerful chap with a great scar across the small of his back from some heavy wound not yet all healed, and he carried the ship's keys on a chain fast in a money-belt round his waist. He swam very well, and was a good sailor.

The crew, apart from the Nakhoda, consisted of three men and four boys—eight hands all told, which ought to be enough for any fifty-footer, even such a work producer as an Arab dhow. The men were: a very ancient Turk, of at least 70, who surveyed the world through bleary eyes and, huddled in his ancient coat, puffed most of the night at some foul tobacco in a home-made hookah of his own invention. This was his only luxury and indeed his

only comfort. His possessions were a few rags and a handful of dates, kept in a little wicker basket in his place among the cargo, and a very decrepit calico bag in which he kept his tobacco. He wore always, day and night, an old grey coat which had obviously been made for someone else, a very dirty fez and a torn sarong: and he looked rather pessimistic. But he seemed a good old chap, and he still could play with the boys. The two other men were the mate, a small tough Yemenite with a pointed beard and a great thirst for coffee made with ginger (horrid stuff), and a stalwart negro ex-slave who was the best-built man and in many ways the finest seaman on board. He knew neither how old he was nor where he came from, but he thought it was somewhere in the Sudan. He was free now, and had long earned his living in sambuks: he was also married at Lohaiya, and was as devout a Moslem as any. He had a good face, and I liked him. He did his work quietly and well, and was always cheerful. The youngest of the boys cooked, and a wretched job he had: the second youngest seemed to be the ship's idiot but he was at least a cheerful one. The boy who cooked led a miserable life. There were not even any matches: it was his duty to keep some embers not quite dead—one could hardly call them alive—and sometimes he spent hours fanning these to get his small wood fire. He could make a fire from incredibly little, and a meal out of less. But indeed we fared very badly, quite apart from Ramadhan. The thick coarse grey ashen bread which the boy produced was extraordinarily distasteful, and apart from this (when there were no fish) the only other dish was a kind of gelatinous pinkish stuff horrible in the extreme. This I could not eat: I ate a date. At first there was some rice but this soon went: so also did the tea which had been palatable. The method of cooking fish was to clean them, liberally sprinkle them with coarse salt, and put them in the hot ashes of the oven fire. Above them the horrible bread was always placed, but this was so bad that even the taste of fish was not evident in it. The fish roasted in this way were very good, and indeed the only palatable food we got. Later flour gave out, and odds and ends had to be scraped up out of old goatskins rescued from the cockroach-ridden darkness beneath the poop. The fresh water was in an iron drum, exposed to the elements and the whole day's sun: though it was Aden water (which is good) it soon began to breed small twisting animals and I would not dare drink it. Fishing was usually left to the simple device of a single line trailing over the stern, and though there were days when this was very effective (for the Red Sea teems with fish) there were others when it was not. Sometimes the bearded mate would pass a turn of the fishing-line about his big toe, and turn in to sleep in the canoe. His sleep was disturbed only once, by a big fish of the bonito family which provided an excellent meal for all hands.

No one had any blankets nor any really warm clothes. No one had a sea

chest, nor a place to keep anything. (The entire possessions of all hands, including the old Turk's hookah, would fit in the half of any ordinary chest.) Rags were at a premium, and both ship and crew were very, very poor. Never having known any other conditions, they did not mind, and both ship and people wandered pleasantly enough along neither seeking the unattainable, both well content with things as they were—though indeed the ship might permit less of the sea to seep through her seams and keep her too close company. Comfort is unknown here: no one minds the smell of bilgewater, foul as it is: no one minds drinking water which is warm, brackish, and full of insects: no one minds sleeping in the nightly dews, sleeping upon angles in the general cargo, washing in the sea. There are no lights save one hurricane lamp, which works badly and is rarely lit: there is not a book on board. Prayers, fasting, the working of the ship, a few puffs of tobacco of the most inferior kind—these are enough. The pay is a pittance for the men and practically non-existent for the boys, to whom a rupee is a fortune and an English pound unknown.

As with the people, so with the ship. She is exceedingly ill-found. There is not a decent piece of line on board, nor a piece of good canvas. The main halliards are plaited straw: all else is cheapest coir. There is not a belaying pin nor a pair of bitts, nor any proper place to belay a line: and this indeed is a cause of considerable inefficiency and some delay in manoeuvres such as wearing ship. Round turns and hitches anywhere are the order of the day, and the shroud-tackles are set up as best they can be. There are Irish pennants everywhere: the rudder seems to balance precariously on a pintle: the houri leaks. The anchor cable is a piece of coir line. The anchor is let go by the negro's picking it up and heaving it over the side. The crew climb aloft by walking with their toes dangerously up the main halliards: the mainmast works heavily as she rolls. There is no place to put sidelights, which are supposed to be on board. (There is a certificate for them.) Free-board is practically non-existent and the sea is kept out with a piece of straw. The sail is sewn roughly with weak round-seams from cheap Japanese mill-ends, and the clews are strengthened with sacks. The bolt-rope is one-inch coir: the shrouds are parcelled coir, the parcelling painted black and white in bands and the pendants led each to a gun-tackle the blocks of which work very badly. The wood from which the ship is built is unfinished and her underside is smoothed with a mixture of tallow and lime (which also helps to preserve her): the beams are unsquared bits of knobbly and very knotty trees, set very close together: she is infested with spiders, ants, mosquitoes, and all manner of giant beetles. Yet the crew sing at their work, and the little ship has been delivering dry cargoes, uninsured, in all the ports of the Red Sea this past twenty years. And the Nakhoda knows the peace of God.

The cargo this voyage is mainly transhipped stuff from Aden, which is a big transshipment port. We have Australian flour, two cases of Japanese matches, a number of bales of Japanese cotton goods, some rice and coffee, and other things. For a 20-ton ship, she stows a lot. By the way, none of the cargo was ever touched though it lay open to the four winds, and we were short of everything and pretty hungry long before the end of the passage.

As for the passage itself, my account of which has been somewhat interrupted by the description of the ship, after passing Mocha we continued to anchor every night and to sail by day with the favouring southerly wind, getting under way usually before dawn—unless we were in a particularly nasty place—and coming to anchor in the last light of day. Then a meal, and prayers, and sleep: perhaps a landing in the hour to fossick for firewood on some small sand cay, for we were also short of that. I seized these opportunities to bathe, and scrub myself with sand which is an effective manner of cleansing. At first we wandered slowly by the Yemen coast, but it was hazy and we did not see much of it: what we did see was certainly different from the usual Arab skyline with its air of hell-fire and utter desolation. Then came the reefs, which for all their sinister thickness and their jagged teeth gave surprisingly little evidence of themselves: we sailed for days between scattered lines of flat sand cays and the low shore of the mainland. Here Ahmed was particularly careful, sometimes going to even the lengths of sounding: when he did this it was at the end of a day's sailing, and we would be anchored in the shallow bight of some lonely cay before long. Sometimes on these cays, especially near Kamaran, were piles of old oysters, opened and discarded, for Kamaran is something of a poorish pearling place. Sometimes we spoke fishermen, and bought a mess of fish from them for a little rice. Sometimes, we passed fast, small canoes; they scudded from us and would not come near. At such times Ahmed said that a Somali sambuk must have passed recently that way, for the Somalis, he said, are wild and do not always give fishermen in lesser numbers than themselves a fair deal. At other times we spoke sambuks, two from Massawah one morning, in the inside passage off Midi: they were beating down to Aden and came the inside way for its flat sea. They know the reefs. In the early stages—before the reefs—sometimes we saw steamers, in long procession wandering silently and with precision up and down the Red Sea. For all their size and their obvious power and contempt of the elements, they seemed in the distance always dead things, as if all life had departed from them and no living thing was on their decks, but they continued on their insensate and useless scheduled ways like clockwork things let loose in a big pond: for it seemed to us being alive in a ship that lived that the great powered things could not belong to our world.

Ahmed never looked at them. The mate sometimes pointed and said 'Barbor' with great contempt.

So we came up past Kamaran, a most orderly looking place which is a pilgrim station for the faithful from the East: here the British flag flew before a white residency on a small hill, and the channel was well marked. There were several sambuks in the tiny harbour: all these Red Sea 'harbours' seem either to be open roads or tiny bays fit only for dhow anchorages. We saw a number of small fast fishing canoes off Kamaran and any number of fish, but caught nothing ourselves. The wind was good that day and we made good progress: her average rate of sailing, I should say, was about 70 or 80 miles a day. That day we were very short of firewood, and part of an old and decaying rib was hacked out of the poop. We were anchored in the day's last light, and at once hoisted the houri out with two of the shroud tackles fast to strops rove temporarily through eyes bored in the stem and stern. We landed on a cay full of crabs, but we found a box and some other driftwood which was very acceptable.

The next day—Monday, 14 November, the 6th day from Aden—we carried a spanking southerly all day and the Nakhoda, after the first was split getting under way, changed to a smaller mainsail. Usually the ship was got under way by heaving in the coir cable until the anchor was up and down, and then setting the sail and breaking the anchor out: in ports the sail would be hoisted, fast in palm-frond stops along the yard, all of which could be parted at a jerk on the sheet. We ran on well all this day, in flat water behind the long line of reefs. Here apparently shoal water does not show as it does in the South Seas, and the reefs do not throw off that white and pale green light which marks them so vividly (when the sun is right) in the Coral Sea: and for that these Red Sea reefs are much more dangerous. But we are very close to the sea, here in this little *Sheikh Mansoor*, perhaps from a greater height there might be more chance of seeing the reefs. Be that as it may, they certainly cannot be as clearly defined as the ordinary white reef of the South Pacific Ocean.

We anchored this night rather earlier than usual, a sure sign that we were in dangerous waters: our anchorage was the lee of a tiny cay somewhere off Midi. Here again we landed, and scared away the fat sea birds. The next day, getting under way just before dawn, we sailed all the cloudless day between the cay-marked reefs and the low shore under much the same conditions as the previous day: in the early afternoon the headland of Gizan was visible in the distant haze, and by mid-afternoon the fort-surmounted hill to the south'ard of the town was in clear view. In the early evening, with a declining wind, we arrived: and I thought Ahmed brought her very skilfully to her anchorage. The anchor down, his son passed him up clean clothes,

boarding officers came aboard, and the passage was done. Gizan looked interesting, and I felt some gratitude towards the little vessel which had brought me there—a gratitude which however became somewhat dimmed, a little later on, by all hands' insistence upon large sums in 'baksheesh'.

We paid 30 Rupees for the passage. Since the holy man paid about 2, this was received pretty well, though without enthusiasm: I also made the Nakhoda and the mate presents, and distributed, as requested, some baksheesh to the crew. After this the mate asked for still more baksheesh, and since he had been very generous with his tea I gave him a rupee or two, with which he was well satisfied. He was something of a tough: aged 24, he had been a sailor since boyhood like all the rest of them. Muscat, Karachi and Bombay marked his furthest wanderings. To the Nakhoda I gave a very good turban, in blue and gold, which I had bought in Aden. He was a good chap and I liked him: I saw him only once again. It was in the office of the chief of police the next evening. A hackled wretch squatted on the floor: at a small table a youthful clerk, in gown and aghal, sat scribbling steadily. The chief of police, grandson of a Turk, sat neat, dapper, and suspicious at his big desk with a litter of papers before him and his silver-mounted pistol reclining in its decorated holster on the wall. His aghal and headcloth had been discarded, for it was very hot and no breeze stirred through the open windows: his head was covered with a small silken cap in purple and red and gold, which showed off his pale parchment skin and rather handsome face. Before him Ahmed stood, barefoot and beads in hand, gentle-faced as always and waiting for his turn to ask for what he needed. A figure of utterly no importance there, with the heavy-booted policemen clanking in and out, he stood patient and humble waiting until such time as the chief might look up and notice his presence. Again I noticed that attractive peering glance of his big brown eyes, the air of gentle humility in the posture of his small little body.

I noticed that the sailors from the Nakhoda down had a great affection for their ship, and though we saw no long-voyage sambuk which did not look better than she did they failed to notice this and would hotly contest the statement. The *Sheikh Mansoor* was their home and their living, and they were proud of her.

Here are some odd facts and some figures of more technical interest:

The ship, on deck, was 55' \times 14', and the depth of hold was 7'. I should say her loaded waterline was not above 48', and light 3' less. Her topsides were oiled teak and her underwater body teak fish-oiled and limed. She had a triangle of green like a mouth at the bow.

- Her ribs were Lohaiya cherry-wood of the kind commonly used in dhows, set very close together.
- The houri was $17' \times 2' 4'' \times 19''$ deep.
- The mainmast was a trunk of Malabar teak 39' long, of which 34' was above the heavy thwart against which its weight rested at what would have been the deck. The circumference here was 29".
- The depth of hold at the well was 6' 5", from this same thwart.
- The main halliards were of five-stranded straw rope $1\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter.
- The upper block of the halliards was a double block used as two singles, the halliard for some reason having two hauling parts. This appears to be common to all sambuks, just as is the double tie. The lower block was a footblock built into the ship, across two beams, the lower one of the ordinary ship's beams and the upper the rounded beam round which the halliards were belayed.
- The mainsail was bent beneath the yard, round which coir stops were passed and reef-knotted: roughly one stop to each cloth.
- The bolt-rope was of 1" coir.
- The mainsail cost about £3.
- The ship was worth about Rupees 2000, said the Nakhoda.
- The mainsail contained about 1500 square feet of canvas, or something less. This was the largest mainsail, for which a small extra piece had to be lashed to the fore end of the lateen yard.
- The cable was 2" (diam.) coir.
- The ship was always worn and never tacked, but she did not lose much by wearing. There was a double vang on the lateen yard, used in wearing to shift the yard.
- The cooking utensils included a few stones, two small kettles, two sauce-pans, and a kind of pestle and mortar in stone for beating out corn and salt, and for rolling the unleavened bread. This made a noise which at first I thought was pumping.
- The sail was always lowered well before anchoring, and the ship manoeuvred to anchor with her way.
- The parral was a strop of rope set up by means of a toggle which could be tightened from the deck. The yard was strengthened, as in all Arab vessels I have seen, with a fished piece where the halliards and parral were fitted—in other words, where it was hung.
- The sail locker was a bag, stowed where handiest. They repaired the sails with a primitive kind of single-stranded string, unwaxed. They only used the round stitch, and that homeward bound.
- The Nakhoda led the evening and pre-dawn prayers, with his beads on a sack before him.

The lateen sail was a good puller, very good by-the-wind, and remarkably free from chafe. But it was unwieldy, bad in a calm, and could be dangerous especially if taken aback. It was very awkward to handle.

The date matting which acted as bulwarks was stitched through to the upper planking, and stretched to poles set along forked pieces of wood about three feet high, on both sides, from the poop to well forward of the mainmast.

The main sheet was a piece of coir one end of which was clove-hitched to an iron ringbolt on the poop and the hauling part rove through a cleat—it was not a block but just a piece of wood with a hole in it—lashed to the clew of the sail and made fast usually round the unused mizzen mast.

The parral was always loosed when the yard was hoisted or lowered and set taut when the yard was up.

The compass appeared to be a very ancient one of the type with which the lifeboats are supplied in the inferior type of tramps.

Coming into Gizan, a 'flag' was hastily made from a piece of cloth, and displayed from a staff aft, this apparently being the prescribed method in Arabia for announcing the arrival of a vessel from abroad—from some other port of Arabia, or elsewhere—awaiting clearance.

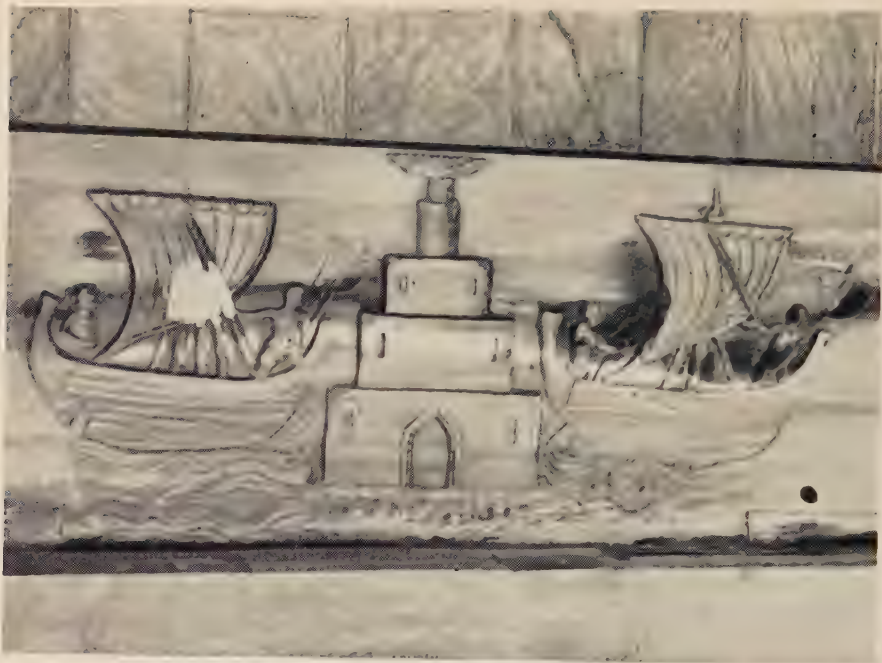
I was surprised at the extent to which a kind of 'family' or tribal life existed among the crew. When we paid our fares, the amount of which had by the arrangement at Ma'alla been left to us to fix, the news was at once passed out to all hands. When the Nakhoda had a letter the contents of which, apparently, he very much wanted to know, he tried first, very ineffectively, to open it himself. This he kept up for two days, failing dismally. Then the mate tried, and then his son, and finally all hands had a fling to open that letter. There was no secrecy about it. Finally, the envelope proving thoroughly obdurate, all attempts had to be abandoned: but I wonder what the recipient, when he finally got the letter, thought of the battered condition of its covering. It had been steamed, smoked, poked at with knives, sticks, and anything else that came to hand, and there was no attempt at disguising the fact that it had been very much man-handled. Again, such as they were, the crew seemed gladly to share their few possessions: and when the poor treasures were brought out from beneath the poop to be looked at, they appeared to take as much pleasure in the contemplation of a desirable object which was the property of someone else, as if it were their own.



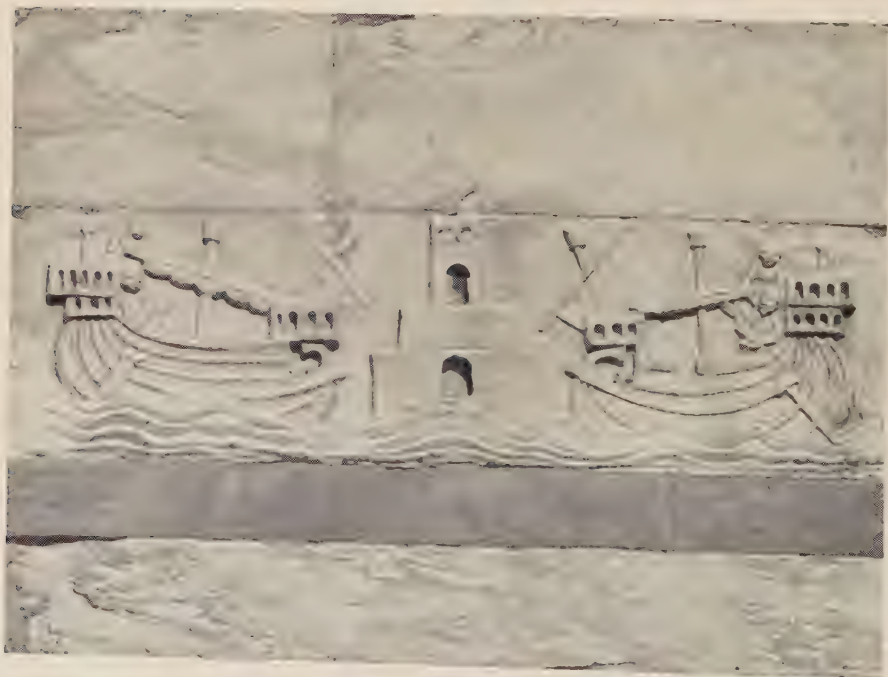
Water urn and spare mainsail.



The Nakhoda conning his ship into the anchorage at Gizan.



(a) Relief built into the wall of the Cathedral at Pisa.



(b) Relief on the Leaning Tower of Pisa.

'NEFS' OR 'CORBITAE'?

By G. B. Rubin de Cervin

IT has been pointed out by R. H. Dolley and George M. Cunha respectively (notes in *M.M.* for May and November 1952) that at least one of the two Pisan reliefs, which came under discussion, might be of Roman origin, and that very likely in the past they had been pilfered from more ancient structures. Since those notes appeared, the 'Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Gallerie per le Provincie di Pisa, Livorno, Lucca e Massa Carrara' has kindly released full details and photographs of the two pieces, thus now making it possible to study them separately.

Relief No. 1, Pl. 11a (m. 2.19 × 0.77), which is on the left side of the Cathedral, is carved in a stone which comes from the nearby hills of S. Giuliano, where the greater part of the material was also drawn for the building of the entire structure, a fact which disposes of all suggestions which support an origin outside of the Pisan region. The composition of this relief follows a design which seems to have been frequently recurrent in Roman times and bears close affinities with many other known examples, mainly with the celebrated Torlonia or Portus relief. The scheme is usually the same and shows one or more *naves onerariae* entering a harbour, or having been safely docked, their crews are busy unloading the cargo, while in some cases a lighthouse looms in the background. Archaeologists believe that these works were just votive offerings dedicated by mariners to the gods as tokens for the happy conclusion of some perilous voyage: *Pro salute, itu, reditu incolumitate*. The letters VL in fact, which appear upon the mainsail of one of these vessels, were explained as meaning *Votum Libero*, probably a dedication to Bacchus who must have been the patron of the Wine Merchants' Guild, the trade to which the shipowner belonged. (A. Guglielmotti, *Delle Due Navi Romane sul bassorilievo portuense del Principe Torlonia*. Tip. Senato, Roma, 1874.)

But coming back to the Pisan relief, it is undoubted that the two ships show links with Roman naval architecture, and furthermore the three-storied tower, which is seen in the foreground, fits well with the description of the coast-line given by the Gaul poet Claudius Rutilius Namatianus who visited the town in A.D. 416 (*De Reditu Suo*, Lib. 1, 11, vs. 527, 11).

Inde Triturritam petimus: sic villa vocantur.

Pisano Portu contigit alta sequi.

Very likely an allusion to the lighthouse which, it is thought, once stood on the Meloria reef about five miles south-west of the harbour. Everything would thus point to Roman rather than medieval workmanship, but on closer examination it will be revealed that the doorway which shows on the tower does not bear, as would have been expected, the classical Roman arch, but a pointed one instead. Now, it is an accepted fact that this new architectural element was learned by the Crusaders in the Holy Land and by them brought back to their respective countries; in Italy, in fact, the first buildings in which it is seen worked out are those due to Buschetto, the artist who planned the Basilica in 1063. There are many examples of local traditions which have survived for centuries (such as the case of the Venetian *madonneri* who went on painting the same picture of the Holy Virgin and Child almost up to the end of the eighteenth century, following a standard Byzantine scheme), and it seems therefore eminently reasonable to suppose that, through innate conservatism, this practice was also carried on by the naval shrimemakers of Pisa. The conclusions which then may be reached on the first relief are: (a) That it is an ex-voto of local workmanship. (b) That it was accomplished not before the pointed arch had been introduced into Tuscany. (c) That the tower thereon represented may be that same three-storied Roman lighthouse mentioned by Namatianus, or a similar one of later date, this time the artist only adding to it a touch of 'modernism'. As to when this piece was let into the wall of the Cathedral, is a matter of pure speculation; as yet the fact that Jal who visited Pisa in October 1834, and payed some attention to the naval relief of the nearby Leaning Tower, ignoring completely this one, must be regarded as most surprising.

Relief No. 2, Pl. 11*b* (m. 1.75 × m. 0.45), was cut in the same stone of the S. Giuliano caves, as were all the blocks which were used for the entire structure, and given a curved surface so as to follow the circular shape of the tower. The fact that this intaglio was let in the very lower bands, sets the dating between the years when the foundations were laid down by Bonanno Pisano (?) in 1174 and 1233 when it is known the works had to be interrupted owing to the heavy list suddenly taken by the tower. (Cf. a large bibliography on the subject.) Jal studied this monument and had a sketch drawn of it, but the picture which is reproduced in his *Archéologie Navale* (Paris, 1840), is far from accurate when compared with the original work. A point of interest is also given by the rig on the foremast of both ships which may be interpreted as an early example of lateen sails of the triangular shape. As to the crescent-topped stern knightheads which are noticeable on the *super vannum* of each vessel, they may somehow have a connexion with the many exploits of the Pisan fleet against the Saracens, the most important of them all being the victorious expedition of

1115 carried out over the Arabs who had conquered the Balearic Islands, deeds which were fully emphasized in the Saga of the *Liber Maiolichinus De Gestis Pisatorum Illustribus* (ed. Senato, Roma, 1904 da MS. Pisano. See also MS. Brit. Mus., Add. 10315). Furthermore, the lighthouse in the centre might well be the structure which had been erected in 1157 on the Meloria reef, following the lines of an older one, or perhaps a similar powerful guardhouse called *Torre Magnale* built in 1163 at the entrance of Porto Pisano, the harbour which was later completely to disappear and about which nowadays almost nothing is known. (Cf. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* Vol. VI, col. 173.) Off that same reef the Pisans were to suffer from the Genoese their most crushing defeat on 3 August 1284.

THE PAPERS IN THE POSSESSION OF HARRY PEGLAR,
CAPTAIN OF THE FORETOP, H.M.S. *TERROR*, 1845

By *R. J. Cyriax and A. G. E. Jones*

CAPTAIN SIR JOHN FRANKLIN (1786–1847), commanding H.M. ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, sailed from the Thames in May 1845 to seek a North-west Passage. He did not return, and his fate and that of his officers and men remained for years a mystery, which was not satisfactorily solved until in 1859 Captain (later Admiral Sir) Francis Leopold McClintock (1819–1907), commanding a private Franklin search expedition in the *Fox*, examined the shores of King William Island. His second-in-command, Lieutenant (later Captain) William Robert Hobson R.N. (1831–80), found near Point Victory on that island a record which stated that the *Erebus* and *Terror*, after having been beset for about eighteen months in the ice of Victoria Strait, had been abandoned on 22 April 1848 by Captain Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier, on whom the command had devolved after Franklin's death in June 1847. The record ended with the statement that Crozier was about to start for the Great Fish River.¹ His attempt to escape from the *Erebus* and *Terror* ended in an overwhelming disaster, as was only too clearly shown by the skeletons and relics found by McClintock and Hobson in 1859 (and by several other explorers since) on the western and southern shores of King William Island and on the American mainland near the estuary of the Great Fish River.

One of the skeletons found by McClintock lay face downwards in snow on the south coast of King William Island near Cape Herschel, at a marching distance of about 135 miles from the position of the *Erebus* and *Terror* when abandoned. He believed that the unfortunate man had fallen down when walking and had gone to sleep, never to awake,² but Carl Petersen, McClintock's Danish interpreter of the Eskimo language, thought that possibly the man had sat down to rest on a stone that lay behind the skeleton, and had fallen forwards when trying to rise.³

The skeleton had not been found by Eskimos before its discovery by

¹ Sir F. Leopold McClintock, *The Voyage of the 'Fox', etc.*, 5th ed. (London, 1881), pp. 244–7.

² *Op. cit.* (1881), pp. 235, 236.

³ C. Petersen, *Den Sidste Franklin-Expedition med 'Fox'* (Copenhagen, 1860), pp. 195, 196.

McClintock.¹ He fitted together the tattered pieces of clothing and uniform that lay around the skeleton, and found that the uniform was that of a steward or officer's servant in the Royal Navy.² Lying near were two coins (a half sovereign and a sixpence), a clothes brush, a small comb containing some light brown hairs, and a pocket-book in which were papers. McClintock thought that the skeleton was probably that of a Petty Officer named Harry Peglar, Captain of The Foretop in H.M.S. *Terror*, for among the papers was a seaman's certificate bearing Peglar's name, and an account, evidently written by Peglar, of his services at sea.³

This Petty Officer's full name was Henry Peter Peglar. According to statements which were presumably made by him and are recorded in the muster books of some of the ships in which he served, he was born between 1808 and 1814, either in Bristol or more probably in Westminster.⁴ He was educated for the sea by the Marine Society.⁵ In December 1825 he joined H.M.S. *Clio* at Chatham,⁶ and afterwards served almost continuously in ships of the Royal Navy and of the East India Company. On 11 March 1845 he joined as Captain of The Foretop, H.M.S. *Terror*,⁷ then being equipped for Arctic service at Woolwich Dockyard. The *Erebus* and *Terror* sailed from Greenhithe on 19 May 1845, and were seen for the last time by two British whaling ships at the end of the following July in the upper part of Baffin Bay.⁸ Exactly when Peglar died is not known, but if the skeleton found by McClintock really was his there can be little if any doubt that he died at the very latest during the autumn of 1848. But officially he lived much longer, for the officers and men of the Franklin expedition were not deemed by the Admiralty to have lost their lives in Her Majesty's Service until 31 March 1854.⁹ Peglar was a single man and his arrears of

1 J. E. Nourse, *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition made by Charles F. Hall* (Washington, 1879), p. 416.

2 For a more detailed account, based upon McClintock's original notes, see R. J. Cyriax, *Sir John Franklin's last Arctic Expedition* (London, 1939), pp. 170-1.

3 *Op. cit.* (1881), pp. 235, 236, 310-12, 320.

4 Admiralty Records, Public Record Office, Muster books of H.M. Ships *Terror* (AD. 38/1962); *Wanderer* (AD. 38/9306); *Talavera* (AD. 37/8446); *Gannett* (AD. 37/9149); and *Ocean* (AD. 37/8629).

5 Information kindly supplied by the Marine Society, 'Register of boys received and discharged from the Marine Society's Ship', 1824-9, fo. 81. Peglar was received on 4 August 1825, and discharged about four months later, on 12 December.

6 Admiralty Records, Public Record Office, Muster book of H.M.S. *Clio* (AD. 37/7087).

7 Muster book, H.M.S. *Terror* (*op. cit.*).

8 Parliamentary Paper, *Instructions to Captain Sir John Franklin* (London, 1848), p. 51; *The Times*, London, 3 and 14 January 1852; Admiralty Records, Public Record Office, 'Arctic Expeditions 1845-48', (letter from Captain Martin).

9 *The London Gazette* (London), no. 21513, 20 January 1854. This issue gave notice that the (126) officers and men still unaccounted for would be considered to have died in Her Majesty's Service unless news of their safety was received by 31 March 1854.

pay, amounting to £482, were given to a married sister,¹ who was presumably his next of kin.

The pocket-book was frozen hard when found by McClintock. The papers in it had been injured by damp but some of the writing is legible on most of them, especially on photographic facsimiles. The spelling is often very faulty, and punctuation almost non-existent. The language used was believed originally to be German.² It was, however, English, but since nearly all the words on some of the papers are spelt backwards, and in this form end with capital letters, they must at first sight have been very misleading. The pocket-book and its contents are now preserved in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, but are not exhibited. The papers have been described briefly by McClintock,³ but they deserve a more detailed account than that which he afforded them, for although they add nothing of importance to what is known from other sources about the Franklin expedition, some of them are curious.

The pocket-book, made of brown leather, is now in pieces. These bear neither a name nor initials. The leather itself is in fairly good condition. A small discoloured cutting from *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and some fragments of paper adhere to some of the pieces of leather. These fragments evidently formed part of the other papers originally contained in the pocket-book and have become so firmly adherent that they form a small pad, and cannot be separated. Some of them reveal traces of writing.

The papers found in the pocket-book are as follows:

(1) *The parchment certificate of a seaman serving in the Royal Navy.* The certificate is folded in four, is somewhat shrivelled, and is of a dark brown colour, which may possibly be at least partly caused by the chemical reagents employed to restore the faded writing after McClintock's return to England in 1859. Most of the writing is illegible.

According to McClintock, the certificate bore the name of Harry Peglar, some identification particulars, and the names of six Royal Naval ships in which Peglar had served before he joined the *Terror*—the *Magnificent*, *Rattlesnake*, *Talavera*, *Gannett*, *Ocean* and *Wanderer*. Some of these names are still very faintly discernible. No details of Peglar's service in the *Terror* were entered on the certificate, so McClintock concluded that it had been intended to complete the men's certificates during the voyage back to England.⁴

1 Unsigned memorandum among Peglar's papers, National Maritime Museum.

2 C. Petersen, *op. cit.* (1860), p. 195; 'The search for Sir John Franklin', Anonymous (Sir Allen Young), *The Cornhill Magazine*, Vol. 1 (London, 1860), p. 117.

3 Sir F. Leopold McClintock, *op. cit.* (1881), p. 320.

4 *Idem* (1881), pp. 310, 311.

(2) *A narrative of Harry Peglar's services at sea.* The paper has been torn, stained and damaged, in several places. The narrative is written round the sides of the paper in the form of a square; the writing runs from left to right and from the outside edges of the paper to the centre. The narrative is not signed but that Peglar wrote it admits of little doubt. The handwriting, as opposed to the spelling, is good.

In the following transcription, gaps and damaged places in the paper are indicated by brackets, illegible words or parts of words by dots:

November 1825

This is to Se() H Peglar Has Served On board of His M S Clio 1825 Joined H M Ship Magnificent at Spit Head Sail For Jamaker Under the Command Lev()tenent Mundell¹ tern Over to H M Hulk Serreapes² Commander Elliott³ Tran() H M Ship Rattelsnake Captain J. Leath⁴ Seerved Under him two years Joined H M tender Pearsis⁵ Captain C. . . .⁶ late Cheif Press Master tower Hill london Joined H M Ship Prince Regent dischared for ()g apprentice Sail under the Command of Tommy larkings to China left Gor Tallis⁷ and His lady and douthers at ()aint helena Struck with lighting on the Passadge. . . . ut tow Men Struck dead a Seargent and Privite Retern to England 182() entered for H M Ship Ramelis⁸ tern over to H M Cutter Antelope le()tenent loveless Johns and lappell and Co.⁹ Paid off at Chatham Reentered for The Tallavarer¹⁰ Cap Coalby¹¹ Supper Seaed by Cap Brown¹² Rit for my discharg and got. . . . China in the Marquis Camden lost our Chief Mate Shot going in to Bombay Mr. . . . en Retern to England 1833. H M Ship Gannett C M Maxfeild¹³ ()ntered for H M Spih Temmarare¹⁴ 1838 ()n over to H M Ship Ocean Cp Sir John Hill Sheariness Paid off 38 Joined H M S Wander¹⁵. C M Denman alas Seamour¹⁶ now in the Terror.

Peglar's narrative, though by no means exhaustive, appears to be correct so far as can be ascertained from the records of the ships in which he served.¹⁷ Both his periods of employment by the East India Company were passed

1 Lieutenant John Mundell. The names of the officers mentioned by Peglar have been checked with the Navy Lists, Muster books, and W. R. O'Byrne's *A Naval Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1849).

2 H.M.S. *Serrapis*.

3 Commander Charles Elliott.

4 Captain John Leith.

5 H.M.S. *Perseus*.

6 Captain James Couch.

7 Sir Charles Dallas, Governor of St Helena, 1828-9 to 1836.

8 H.M.S. *Ramillies*.

9 Lieutenants James Loveless, Johns, Lappell, and Craig.

10 H.M.S. *Talavera*.

11 Captain David Colby.

12 Captain Thomas Brown.

13 Commander John Balfour Maxwell.

14 H.M.S. *Temeraire*.

15 H.M.S. *Wanderer*.

16 Commander Joseph Denman, Lieutenant George Henry Seymour.

17 In addition to the Muster books which have already been enumerated, see those of H.M.S. *Magnificent* (AD. 37/6822) and of H.M.S. *Temeraire* (AD. 37/9965), Admiralty Records, Public Record Office.

in the *Marquis Camden*, commanded by Thomas Larkins. Peglar sailed in her for the first time in February 1828. Brigadier General Sir Charles Dallas (d. 1855), who was Governor of St Helena, his wife and three daughters, were passengers to that island, where they arrived on 29 April. The ship continued its voyage to Bombay, Singapore and Perak, and arrived back in England in July 1829.¹ In February 1832 Peglar again sailed in the *Marquis Camden* to St Helena, Bombay, Singapore and Macao, and returned to England in May 1833. During this voyage, the chief mate, a Mr John Fenn, was killed at Bombay in July 1832 by a shot fired from an East India Company's ship, the *Royal Tiger*²—a fatality to which Peglar's narrative very briefly refers.

As a result of these voyages, Peglar, before joining the *Terror* in 1845, had been to Halifax, the West Indies, Ascension, St Helena, the west coast of Africa, India, the Malay Peninsula and China; and had come into contact with at least three officers who afterwards served in the Franklin expedition—James Walter Fairholme, Charles Hamilton Osmer, and George Henry Hodgson. Fairholme was a first-class volunteer and then a midshipman, and Osmer was purser, in the *Gannett* during part of the time (1834–8) that Peglar served in that ship; Hodgson was a Lieutenant in the *Wanderer* for about eighteen months during Peglar's period of service in her (1839–44). When the Franklin expedition was being equipped at Woolwich, Fairholme, then a lieutenant, was appointed to the *Erebus*, Osmer became the purser of the same ship, and Hodgson became a lieutenant in the *Terror*.

(3) *The words of a sea-song*. The paper is only slightly damaged. The handwriting is identical with that of Peglar's narrative of his services at sea.

The song is dated 21 April 1847, and begins: 'The C the C the open C it grew so fresh the Ever free.' It possesses no special interest and only the last lines need be quoted: 'When I was On Old England Shore I like the/young C more and more and ofte times flew/to a Shelltering Plase like a bird that Seek it/mother's Case and a H She was and Oft to me/for I love I love a young and Hopen C.'

The song was not wholly original. It was an adaptation of the poem 'The Sea', by Bryan Waller Procter (1787–1874), whose pseudonym was Barry Cornwall.³

McClintock concluded that since Peglar had amused himself by writing

1 Commonwealth Relations Office, The Honourable East India Company's Ships' logs, Vol. 58, G-1, *Marquis Camden*, 1828–9.

2 Commonwealth Relations Office, The Honourable East India Company's Ships' logs, Vol. 58, 1, *Marquis Camden*, 1831–3, 1 July 1832.

3 *English Songs and other Small Verses*, Barry Cornwall (London, 1851), pp. 73, 74. There was at least one much earlier edition.

this song on 21 April 1847, the officers and men of the Franklin expedition were at that time still cheerful and confident of success. Indeed, he regarded the song as a confirmation of the words 'All well' written on two records which were deposited in 1847 by one of Franklin's officers on King William Island.¹ It requires mention also that the *Erebus* and *Terror* had been beset in ice for seven months in April 1847, so that the song may have been a manifestation not only of nostalgia but also of a very natural desire for release from the ice.

On the same side of the paper as the song is written 'Sentemental or Comic', and also an address: 'In care of Mr Heathfield, a Squier, no 10 Pelmeil West, London.' A Mr William Eames Heathfield is stated in a Commercial Directory of 1845 to have been a chemist at 10 Pall Mall, so was presumably the person to whom the song was addressed.

On the other side of the paper is written: 'Mr Father all to Miss down fall no 6 Old free Street and a Clear Couarse', words which suggest a crude form of will.

A London directory for 1845 makes no mention of 'Old Free Street' nor of any other street with a similarly sounding name that Peglar might have misspelt.

No person named Heathfield, Case, or Downfall served in the Franklin expedition.

(4) *An address, apparently in Peglar's handwriting, on a small piece of paper:* 'Mr John Cowper, No 47 John St., Commercial Road, London. Paid.' The addressee's name is somewhat indistinct; it may be Cauper or Couper.

This address would have lacked precision in 1845, for a London Directory for that year enumerated one 'John Street, Commercial Road' in Whitechapel and another in Lambeth. Moreover, according to a map of London published in 1854,² there were no less than six 'John Streets' in the East End of London near Commercial Road—five in Whitechapel and one in Stepney. All these 'John Streets', as well as 'Commercial Road, Lambeth', have been re-named. The only former 'John Street' which actually joined either of the two 'Commercial Roads', and hence seems to have been the one that was probably intended, is the present Johnson Street, which extends from Commercial Road, Whitechapel, to Cable Street.

No person bearing the name Cowper or a similar name is mentioned as a resident in either of the 'John Streets, Commercial Road' by a London Directory for 1845, and no such person served in the Franklin expedition.

¹ Sir F. Leopold McClintock, *op. cit.* (1881), p. 311.

² H. G. Bohn, *The Pictorial Handbook of London* (London, 1854), map.

(5) *A long slip of paper bearing the words 'Sentemental Song'.* The handwriting appears to be Peglar's. The sheet from which this slip has been detached, may possibly have been used as a wrapper.

All the entries on the papers now to be described are in the same handwriting. This is entirely different from that in which the narrative of Peglar's services at sea was written.

(6) *A sheet of paper with writing on both sides.* This sheet has been extensively damaged. At the top is a date, apparently 'September . . . 1840' or '1846'. Only a few words can be deciphered; most of them are spelt backwards. The subject-matter appears to be some episode connected with a dog. The story is continued on the reverse side of the paper and is followed by a heading: 'Lines writ on the north.' At the side of the writing is a rough drawing of an eye, and beneath this are the words 'lid Bay'.

(7) *Another sheet of paper with writing on both sides.* The upper half of one side bears what may be a continuation of 'Lines writ on the north', mentioned as appearing on the sheet numbered 6. Most of the words are spelt backwards, and the subject-matter seems to be sea animals of some kind. The story is followed by a heading: 'Lines upon Trinadad laying in Asham Bay'. The writing which follows is for the most part legible, but nearly all the words are spelt backwards:

Late on one summers night/ . . . the month of June/ . . . sent a way/ . . . a spoon/I maid my bark
a thort the tide/and my crew they went to sleep/while . . . keep a lookout/for fish all in the deep/Has
my littel bark was drifting down/I was shot a . . . and gggit one of O'Connell/tertill came swimming
sloley by/my crew got up and grappel him/and lug him in my boat/off one pull quite marely/to
that gallant bark a float/sir the wait . . . that littel marter/bird w . . . 67 pounds/the . . . made
a splened/hot dinner off . . . prime littel fellow wot . . . /a tertill.

(8) *A small piece of paper on which is written 'Lines writ . . . party wot happened at Trinadad'.* In the right-hand upper corner are at least two words; the second is probably 'September'. This piece may have been used as a wrapper for the sheet, no. 7, which has just been described.

(9) *A sheet of paper bearing some lines which begin: 'O death whare is thy sting, the grave at Comfort Cove for who has any douat how . . . the dyer sad and whare traffalegar, etc.'* Most of the words are spelt backwards and so many are illegible that the subject-matter cannot be fully elucidated. The first line, 'O Death, whare is thy sting', was obviously taken from the Burial Service or the New Testament.¹

On the other side of the paper, the following words, spelt backwards, are written in a circle: 'He I . . . ave wonder . . . money a night gl . . . a bouat the harmonic.' Inside this circle is written ' . . . rode . . . tell the

¹ I Corinthians, xv, 55.

w...you peglar bord onn hay the terror camp clear.' The handwriting is the same as that which appears on the other side of the paper.

The words written in a circle suggest that the lines 'O death whare is thy sting', were a joint production, the work of Peglar and of one of his shipmates. There can be no doubt that the lines were composed on board the *Terror*, presumably in the Arctic.

'Comfort Cove' may possibly be the place formerly known by that name but now called 'Comfortless Cove', Ascension. H.M.S. *Wanderer*, when Peglar was serving in her, called at Ascension in 1841. The reference to 'Camp Clear' is obscure, for no place of that name appeared on the charts of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago issued before Franklin sailed in 1845. The name may, however, have been given to a temporary encampment made by a party from the Franklin expedition. Several such encampments have been found near Beechey Island, where Franklin during his last voyage passed the first winter (1845-6), and also on King William Island.¹

(10) *A description of how a stranger met with a very friendly reception from people who were dancing and singing in a tent at Cumanar*—presumably Cumana, Venezuela. Part of the paper is torn so that the last part of the narrative is incomplete. Several remarks suggest that the writer was a seafaring man. Most of the words are spelt backwards, and many are illegible.

The narrative is of no special interest but one passage requires mention: 'Has we have got some very hard ground to heave...we shall want some grog to wet houer...issel...all my art Tom for I to do think...time...I cloze should lay and...the 21st night a gread.' This passage suggests a promise that the narrative was to be completed on the '21st night'. The night in question may have been 21 April 1848, the day before the *Erebus* and *Terror* were abandoned, but the narrative contains no other suggestion to the same effect.

On the back of the paper is an address, the words being spelt backwards: 'IME...P Evarglleb Raauqs, Ocilmip, West' (Belgrave Square, Pimlico). 'I.M.' may possibly be 'I.W.' The addressee cannot be identified from a London Directory for 1845.

(11) *A small piece of paper bearing an address*: 'O. J. Rezzoe, a Squier, R.N...Sandile Harber...Beluve Couart...eth.'

The word 'Sandile' is indistinct; it may be 'Ferndile'. The paper is slightly torn to the left of the letters 'eth', and a piece is missing. The complete word must have been quite short, and may have been 'Erith'.

¹ E. K. Kane, *The United States Grinnell Expedition* (Philadelphia, London, 1857), pp. 158, 159; P. C. Sutherland, *Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay, etc.*, 2 vols. (London, 1852), Vol. 1, pp. 299-301; Sir F. Leopold McClintock, *op. cit.* (1881), pp. 300, 301, 317, 318; W. H. Gilder, *Schwatka's Search* (London (n.d.) 1881), p. 133.

No person named Rezzoe served in the Franklin expedition, and no such person is mentioned as a resident in Erith by a Directory for 1846.¹

(12) *A small piece of paper bearing an address* which seems to be: 'To Mr Heather sen . . . City . . . ation, Abberdeen, Lond . . .'. The last word seems to be 'Lond . . .' and not 'Scot . . .', but part of the paper has apparently been torn away, so that the address may be incomplete.

If the name 'Heather' is correct, the address may possibly have been that of a relative of William Heather, Private of Marines in the *Terror*, a native of Battersea, aged 35 in 1845.²

(13) *Several small pieces of paper on which no writing can be seen.* Some have been stitched together with cotton.

McClintock thought that the skeleton was presumably that of Harry Peglar, but the correctness of this assumption can be questioned. The uniform was that of a steward or officer's servant, and, as McClintock stated, the possessor of the pocket-book, when he left the ship, had 'dressed himself in his best shore-going clothes, the clothes reserved to be worn on the day of landing once more in England'.³ Peglar joined the *Terror* as Captain of The Foretop, and when he did so in 1845 had never at any time been a steward in the Royal Navy, as is shown by the Muster books of the ships in which he had served. If the skeleton really was his, he must therefore have been rated as a steward before he left the *Terror*, and have been wearing, when he died, a uniform which had not originally been his own.

The skeleton was unquestionably that of some member of the Franklin expedition, and, if not Peglar's, was presumably that of the friend, who, apparently in conjunction with Peglar, had composed on board the *Terror* the lines beginning 'O death, where is thy sting'. This friend had no doubt been both to Cumana and to Trinidad, for the accounts of parties at these places are in the same handwriting as 'O death, where is thy sting'.

The friend in question may possibly have been Thomas Armitage, Gunroom Steward in the *Terror*. McClintock stated that the skeleton was that of a slightly built man, 'perhaps above the common height'.⁴ Armitage in 1834, when 28 years of age, was 5 ft. 9 in. tall; Peglar, then aged about 23, was 5 ft. 7½ in. tall. Both men had brown hair, the colour of the hair in the pocket comb found near the skeleton. Armitage was Gunroom Steward in H.M.S. *Gannett* for the greater part of the time that Peglar served in that ship, for he joined her at Sheerness on 7 May 1834, and was

1 *The Post Office Directory of the Nine Counties* (London, 1846).

2 Muster book of H.M.S. *Terror*, Admiralty Records, Public Record Office.

3 Sir F. Leopold McClintock, *op. cit.* (1881), p. 311.

4 *Idem* (1881), p. 236.

discharged to H.M.S. *Serpent* on 23 June 1837, whereas Peglar joined her on 4 April 1834, and was paid off in February 1838. Armitage was presumably in the *Gannett* at Cumana from late in 1834 until January 1835,¹ but there seems to be no definite evidence of his ever having been in Trinidad or Ascension.

It seems possible, therefore, that the skeleton was that not of Peglar but of one of his friends, perhaps Armitage, to whom Peglar had entrusted his seaman's certificate, a narrative of his services at sea, and other documents. But no certainty can be reached, and the interest attaching to the papers themselves is in no way affected by doubts respecting the identity of the victim who had the papers in his possession when he died.

We are indebted to the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum for their kind permission to see the pocket-book and papers, to have some photographic facsimiles made, and to publish the above description.

¹ Admiralty Records, Public Record Office, Captain's Journal, *Gannett Sloop*, 1/1/1833-24/2/38; description book of the same ship, AD. 37/9149. The name is given both as 'Armitage' and 'Harmitage' in the description book.

SAILORS' BAPTISM IN SCANDINAVIAN WATERS

By Henning Henningsen

THE principal entrance to the Baltic is the Sound (Øresund). It is rather narrow. At Elsinore (Helsingør), where it is only 4 kilometres broad, the Danish kings built the strong castle Kronborg (originally called Krogen) and demanded, after about 1420, a tax or toll from every ship that passed by, the Sound Dues, Øresundstold (until 1857). From the tax rolls, preserved almost complete since before 1500, we can realize what a vast number of ships every year passed along this international sea-street. Until the peace of 1660 both sides of the Sound belonged to the Danish crown; since then Sweden has possessed the eastern side, the province of Skåne.

The Danish coasts are rather low, but at the north-eastern entrance to the Sound a promontory arises directly from the sea, the Cape Kullen (*kulle* = mountain). This mountain can be seen at a great distance over the sea and must have made a certain impression on the sailors who came from the North Sea and the Kattegat going to the Baltic. It caught the eye and got the significance of a distinct signpost or frontier-mark of stone between the Kattegat and the Baltic. We must admit that this place was well fitted for the ceremony of sea-baptism. The young sailors or those who had never passed this important place before had to be initiated, in order never to forget this remarkable point of the voyage and to be introduced into the guild of the old sailors that had passed here before. The sailors and passengers were baptized or, if they did not want this, had to pay a certain amount, for which was bought ale, brandy or wine, in order that the old hands could admit the young ones into their company—generally speaking, for it was of course no real company with written laws and membership, only a fictitious 'company-of-those-who-had-passed-Kullen'. The ceremony was in Danish called *hønsse for Kullen*. The word *hønsse* (Swedish *hönssa*) means: give a certain amount for drinks and food to the comrades, so that the giver can be admitted to their company. When people have drunk and eaten together, they will be friends and colleagues, and the new ones will be recognized as members with the same rights as the old ones. In the German League of the Hanse the same custom must have taken place (German: *hänseeln*, *hensen*). Travellers on land also often had to be initiated at certain specially important places: big stones, mountains, bridges, etc.

It is difficult to say how old the ceremony of *høuse* off Kullen may be. There are no written statements from sailors—most of them could not write, and perhaps they also thought it better to be taciturn about their rites. But travellers who described the adventures of their voyages now and then told about them.

The oldest testimony we possess is from the year 1612. A Frenchman, Anthoni de Lybrey, complained to the burgomaster and the town-council of Elsinore about his treatment on board a ship that passed Kullen. The passengers were questioned by the sailors, whether they preferred to be baptized or to pay some money as a ransom. His companions paid voluntarily; but he would not, and all the sailors ducked him forcibly twice in the water.¹

Three years later a Dutch Embassy passed Kullen on a Dutch war-ship. Anthonis Goeteris tells about it:²

The 6th (Sept.) at noon we passed a cliff, called *het Col*, where the people who have not been there yet must be baptized. They are, as soon as this cliff is seen clearly, bound to a rope and ducked in the water from the yard-arm three times and hauled up again. They may ransom themselves by paying a coin to the boatswains, and this the honourable gentlemen, the ambassadors and their attendance, did. But some boatswains who had not been there before could not be released.

Some contemporary notes in a copy of Goeteris's book in Stockholm tell that it cost two barrels of good beer and three hams, and that the king of Denmark (Christian IV) also was baptized, when he went by for the first time (1591?). This statement cannot be confirmed.

Charles Ogier, in 1634, accompanied the French ambassador to the wedding of Prince Christian in Copenhagen on a French ship and wrote an interesting book about his voyage and adventures in Denmark. He also tells us about the ceremony:³

At dawn we saw the Cape Kullen which belongs to Skåne and passed by. A gun was fired from the ship, and the sailors gave a shout of joy, which we took part in as we had just arisen from our beds. Here the gay and—for the seamen—rather profitable custom prevails that those who for the first time enter the Sound must, when they pass this Cape, either be ducked in the sea and baptized or ransom themselves from this treatment. For sailors and seamen it is only a pastime, because they love the ocean just as much as the firm earth. All the young ones, both sailors and soldiers, are bound under their arms and breast and hauled up to the yards,—then the ropes are let loose and they fall into the sea, three times up and down. The gunner came to the ambassador and told him smiling about the old custom and asked for a good ransom. All of us in attendance paid a dollar each.

The baptism was in reality a rather solemn ceremony. Another traveller tells, in 1666, that a gun was fired and the flag hoisted in honour of it, as

1 Laur. Pedersen, *Helsingør i Sundtoldstiden*, Vol. 1 (1926), p. 76.

2 *Journal der Legatie Ghedaen inde Jahren 1615, ende 1616* (1619), p. 2.

3 *Det store Bilager i Kjøbenhavn* (1914), p. 2.

the first novice was ducked.¹ The baptized sailors did not get a certificate; but when they passed by another time, they had to swear a most solemn oath 'on salt and bread' that they had already been initiated there.²

From the seventeenth century still more testimonies are known. It is evident that the baptism was performed in almost the same way on Danish, Swedish, Dutch and French ships. Unfortunately I can quote no English statements, but most likely the use would not be different among English sailors.

Also the ship itself had to pay a ransom to the crew, if it had never sailed by before. The pirate Jean Doublet in 1692 had to pay two barrels of wine for himself and the ship; failing which, the sailors threatened to cut off the figurehead of the ship, a lion.³ The same use was common on crossing the Line.

The ducking from the yard-arm was a rather uncomfortable and dangerous treatment for both sailors and passengers. It was, in fact, also used in the navies of the different European countries as a punishment, not as severe as keel-hauling, but still rather brutal. Its origin goes back to the Middle Ages,⁴ and it was still in use in the Danish Navy in 1752⁵ and in the French Navy in the 1830's.⁶ Little by little a more humane method of baptizing was introduced. In fact a Swedish statement of 1686 says⁷ that the sailors in case of stormy weather were not ducked in the sea, but that a big basket was tilted over them on the deck, whereupon the old sailors poured three buckets of sea water over them.

In the eighteenth century the plunging into the sea did not usually take place any more. The novices were bound to the mast and doused with sea water.⁸ The sailors fooled their young comrades into looking at the mountain, and, as soon as they looked, they were required to *hånse* or to be soused with water. By and by it seems that the baptism was abolished, too; the novices gave their bottle of brandy or their money-gift of their own free will.⁹ Sometimes the captain gave an extra ration of brandy for the crew, so that no one had to pay privately.¹⁰

1 *Fra Arkiv og Museum*, Vol. III (1906), p. 32.

2 *Peder Syvs danske Ordsprog* (1944), p. 360.

3 *Journal du corsaire Jean Doublet* (1883), p. 167.

4 A. Jal, *Glossaire Nautique* (1848), p. 386; Etienne Cleriac, *Us, et Costumes de la Mer* (1647), pp. 115 seq.

5 *Kong Friderich den Femtes Søe-Krigs-Artikels-Brev*, § 596.
6 Gréhan, *La France Maritime*, Vol. I (1852), pp. 206 seq.; J. Lecomte, *Dictionn. pittoresque de marine* (1835), p. 91.

7 Sam Owen Jansson: *Ett par 1600-talsuppteckningar om hönsning* (Budkavlen, 1952), pp. 107 seq.

8 L. Boesen, *Helsingørs Beskrivelse* (1757), p. 47.

9 *Carl Tersmedens Memoarer*, Vol. I (1912), pp. 143, 146; Rs. Nyerup, *Magazin for Reiseiagttagelser*, Vol. II, p. 366.

10 Logbook of *Kronprinsesse Maria* 1804, in Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg.

On Danish and other West European ships the custom was neglected little by little, but in the nineteenth century, when the countries around the Baltic began to build bigger ships, which left their home-waters, passed the Sound and went all over the World, the custom was revived on the East-Swedish, Finnish, Baltic and East-German ships. But not quite in the old manner. In the meantime the ceremony of baptism on crossing the Equator or Line had been established in the same manner as celebrated to-day on almost all ships of the most various nations—with the sea-god Neptune, his wife and his gang, with bishop, physician and barber, with shaving and ducking in a tub, etc. And this baptism of the Line (*linjedåb*) influenced greatly the Kullen baptism. Neptune came on board, and the sailors were shaved and ducked in the tub. That is to say, sometimes it was not the God of the Sea who appeared, but instead of him a personification of a local figure, the *Kullemand* (Swedish *Kullagubbe*). Since medieval times people have thought that such a mythical person lived in this mountain—an old, wise man with a long beard, a sort of *troll* or ogre. According to the popular belief and legend all the mountains and hills are the dwellings of the *underjordiske*, the subterranean people of heathen origin. The sailors had to greet this legendary figure, when they saw his mountainous dwelling, and he came on board in almost the same shape as Neptune, but without crown and trident. He is first mentioned in connexion with the baptism in 1852:¹ one of the sailors dresses like the *Kullemand* and demands his tax as a payment for the protection which he gives the ship when passing his domain.

One of the few pictures known from this ceremony shows *Kullabisin*, as he was called on Finnish ships, on board the barque *Mainio* of Lovisa in the 1880's.² His face is blackened, he wears a full beard of rope and is adorned with sea-grass; his ragged dress is of sack-cloth. In one hand he holds a small pail with tar and the 'soap' for the shaving, and in the other hand a long wooden razor. His attendant is dressed in a reversed mantle of sheep fur and a broad-brimmed hat. Old Swedish sailors report that on Swedish ships also the *Kullagubbe* came on board, shaved them and cut their hair; if they would not pay, they were thrown into a basin of canvas on the deck.³

After 1900 again the sailors would be satisfied with a gift of brandy from the novices, who in fact brought with them the drink from home for this purpose.⁴

1 Ljunggren & Richardt, *Skånska herrgårdar*, Vol. 1, Krapperup (1852).

2 Courtesy of intendent Sven Andersson, Sjöfartsmuseet, Åbo.

3 Lunds Universitets Folklivsarkiv 3306:20 and 8845:5.

4 Sven Andersson.

An amazing custom, elsewhere unknown on ships, is the following, recorded by a Swedish sailor, in about 1880:¹

The old sailors spread out a sail on the deck, when the ship passed Kullen. The novice must 'trample the canvas in honour of *Kullagubben*'. He was ordered to stand in the middle of the canvas, whereupon all his comrades seized it and hauled, so that the poor man fell down; they shook the sail, and it was impossible for him to stand upright. He often sustained hurt during the few minutes that this took.

This act is similar to the custom known, e.g. in public schools, where young pupils were thrown up and down in a blanket, tossed by their comrades.

The best records of the Kullen-baptism are quite modern and have been written down from the relations of Esthonian and Latvian sailors. The sea-trade of these countries began in about 1850 and was highly influenced by German navigation. Probably also the customs of the sailors derive from there. The baptism off Kullen lived longer there than in other mercantile marines; in about 1930 it is said to have been still performed on Esthonian and Latvian ships. I quote an older example, told by an Esthonian sailor in 1898:²

Here I want to write about an old custom among seafaring folk that even to-day sailors still anxiously observe, that is the sailor's baptism or, more correctly, the baptism of the cabin boy or young sailor who for the first time sails a larger sea. This baptism, however, is performed only in one place, namely in passing by St Kullen (*Kullisaar* = Hawk's Island),³ which stands in the sea off Denmark, a little rock of an island. As soon as some ship on which there are young sailors who are for the first time passing St Kullen has approached that island, so that the island can be seen with the naked eye, a curious bustle begins on board the ship. All hands are driven on deck, where they are stood in rows. Now the mate takes an old paper-rag in his hand and bawls forth, as if reading from it the law of the ship, incomprehensible words of some foreign tongue (mostly English). After this the young sailor is dragged from among the rest of the crew, and in front of him steps one of the very oldest sailors of the craft, a tin with the tar-mixed shaving-lather and a wooden razor with one edge smooth, the other toothed like a saw, in his hands, and asks him, 'For how much do you wish to be shaved, for three or for five?' This means that the young sailor must stand the crew drink for three or five roubles, as a fee for the shave and to celebrate his becoming a seaman. But there is another special difference between three and five—if you express a wish to be shaved for three, you are shaved with that edge of the knife that is toothed like a saw. Your tar-lathered cheek is scrubbed with it, to draw blood. But, if you wish to be shaved for five, you are shaved with the smooth edge and scraped fairly gently. Such shaving the sailors call *hentseldus*.⁴ No sailor has ever escaped *hentseldus*, since an unshaved sailor is regarded as no sailor at all. The shaving-lather for *hentseldus* is compounded of tar and several other kinds of muck. The process is as follows,—

When the young sailor has said for how much he wishes to be shaved (if he knows the difference between three and five, he will never wish it to be for three, but always for five), a big tub, in

¹ Lund 4353:4.

² O. Looorits, 'About the Baptism of Novices as Practised by the Baltic Sailors', in *Tautosakos Darbu*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 130 seq.

³ This is a popular Esthonian etymology based on a misunderstanding, as *Kullen* means 'the mountain'. *Saint Kullen* is of course also false, and it is no island.

⁴ From the word *hänse* in the German form *hänseln*.

which the crew usually wash themselves, full of water, is carried on deck. Across it a round wooden bar is placed. On this round bar the young sailor is made to sit in such a way that he perches lengthwise above the water in the tub. Thereupon the old sailor with the tar-lather tin and the wooden knife steps up to him, lathers his cheeks with the tar-lather, whether he has a beard or not, and starts scrubbing him with his wooden knife. Lucky he who has no beard, for those who happen to have one, especially if it is big, have the devil of a job to clean it of the tar-muck; for the beard, of course, remains full of tar, and naturally the wooden knife removes neither the beard nor the tar.

When the shaving or rather *hentseldus* is done, the baptism of the sailor begins. A big sooty sheet-iron chimney is brought from the galley, stood upright between several men, and held in mid-air above the victim sitting across the tub. Now the young sailor is told to thrust his head right under the chimney-shaft and shout 'Kull huu, kull huu, kull huu!' (= 'Hawk hoo!') The name of the island St Kullen has been identified with the Esthonian word for hawk, *kull*) three times up the chimney. No sooner has he shouted for the third time than one of the crew hits the chimney a hard blow with his fist, so that the loose soot in it falls all over the victim's face. At the same time another sailor strikes the round bar the candidate is sitting on another good blow, and the sitter tumbles head over heels into the tub, out of which he climbs as wet all over as a tadpole. Now he has been baptized a seaman, and the whole crew congratulate him, whereupon the baptism is celebrated with good hard drinking for the money the baptized seaman has paid for his shave.

The fishermen of the coast, too, have long known this baptism and therefore come in their boats alongside the ships that pass Kullisaar to sell gin that is rather cheap, but at the same time fairly strong.

The begging for money and the baptism itself were thought rather inconvenient by the victims, and it is not surprising that the laws of some countries tried to suppress the baptism. Already at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch East India Company forbade all such customs on its ships and converted them into a decent festival with extra wine and food for the crew, at the expense of the Company, in order better to control what might arise out of the rude fun. Of course it must have been difficult to maintain such a prohibition, but in reality I know only one record of a Dutch baptism on crossing the Line till the end of the eighteenth century,¹ whereas I have found at least three Portuguese, six English and twenty-three French descriptions of this custom during the same time.

The Swedish king, Carl XI, put the following paragraph, most likely taken from the Dutch ordinance, into his Sea-Law, 1667, *Sweriges Rikes Sjö-Lag*:²

About the baptism of sailors

When a master in future sails past Kullen or another cape or point where people have been accustomed to baptize those who have not sailed that way before, from this date such baptism will be neither tolerated nor permitted, but the master must give for each sailor, who has not sailed there before, a pot of wine for each table-company (mess) among the sailors, so that every man may get a drink. But other people on board shall be quite free, unless they, of their own good will, are willing to give something for the benefit of the sailors. If anyone forcibly acts against this decree, he will be punished at the judge's discretion.

¹ *The Voyage of Fr. Leguat* . . ., Hakluyt, Vol. LXXXII (1891), pp. 19 seq.

² *Skipmanna-Balken*, § 20.

We find another more severe prohibition in the famous Danish law-codification, *Christian V's Danske Lov*, 1683. The so-called *høuse*-paragraph (4-1-20) runs:

No one of the ship's crew is from this date allowed to demand money or money's value from those who may be on board a ship, either sailors or travellers, when they come upon a certain water where they have not sailed before, far less threaten them, after old bad uses, with being soused with water and the like, but the master shall at once punish everyone who ventures to do this with water and bread (i.e. severe imprisonment) for three days.

Here the master of the ship is not obliged to give wine or brandy to his crew as in the Dutch and Swedish ships. On the other hand, we know that they have occasionally done it.

It will of course scarcely be necessary to tell that this regulation was not at all obeyed. The Danish sailors continued to *høuse*, in Danish waters, at Berlengas (Portugal) and, after about the year 1750, at the Equator.

Kullen was without doubt the most important *høuse*-place in Scandinavian waters, because the Sound was the international shipping-route of the North. But there were a lot of other places, where the same custom of *høusning*, paying money for drinks and—less often—being baptized, was in use. Most of these places were only known to the local shipping, and it is therefore very difficult, in many cases quite impossible, to collect material about them in our days. Only by lucky chance a few testimonies have been preserved up till now.

Along the Danish shores we find some place-names, compounded with the word *høuse*, e.g. Høsekollen and Hønsørøn (*røn* = shoal with big stones) on the island of Sjælland and Hansebugt (*bugt* = bay) on the island of Fyn. Hønsbroer (*bro* = bridge) are known in Copenhagen, at Elsinore and on the island of Christiansø. From the Høsepold (*pold* = hill) on the island of Samsø we know that the novices on the local ships who passed by for the first time had to give money (about 1750),¹ and this custom was observed till our days.

The rather flat and sandy northern end of Jutland near the Skaw (*Skagen*), where is the invisible frontier between Kattegat and Skagerrak, was also a remarkable point where sailors often had to pay (mentioned for the first time in 1688).² On this dangerous point a light-house was erected in 1561. We hear that, when the Danish East Indiaman *Kronprinsesse Maria* in 1804 passed by the tower, the crew got an extra ration of brandy.³ Both Danish and Swedish sailors used to *høuse* here. Still in our century the young sailors have had to take off their hats, in order to greet 'the Long Man' (the light-house).

1 Thura, *Beskrivelse af Øen Samsø* (1758), p. 39.

2 Peder Syv, *op. cit.* p. 360.

3 Logbook in Handels- og Søfartsmuseet.

For the ships coming from the Baltic countries the island of Bornholm was a very remarkable place; east of the island the water was so fresh that they could use it for their cooking, but to the west it was too salty. Before 1914 many Latvian and Finnish sailors were baptized here.¹

Along the shores of the Baltic Sea a lot of local *høuse*-places are known. A baptism was rarely performed, but the novices had to offer a drink to the old hands. In many places this has still been observed up till our time. Rather important was the mountainous south end of the island of Gotland, *Hoburgen*, where an ogre, the *Hoburgsgubbe*—a relative of the *Kullagubbe*—was thought to dwell. The sailors were obliged to *hönsa* for him, when they went by.²

German sailors—and probably others—paid, when they reached Landsort (south of Stockholm), according to a testimony from the year 1686.³ The skippers on the Mälär-Lake, west of Stockholm, probably used to *hönsa* near Kungshatt, about 10 kilometres from the Swedish capital.⁴ Other Swedish *hönsa*-places were, for example, the island of Stora Karlsö near Gotland; the island of Jungfrun in the Kalmar Sound; the south end, Långe Jan, of Öland; and the cliff Utklippan, south of Karlskrona.

Although not Scandinavian we may mention that Esthonian and Latvian sailors baptized novices off Kap Ristna on the island of Dagö, and off Domesnäs, Kurland.⁵

In Travemünde, at the entrance to Lübeck, there was a certain tower, where the sailors in the middle of the eighteenth century were baptized.⁶

The ships that steered along the Norwegian coast between the small cliffs and the firm land (the so-called *indenskærs* route) passed, shortly before the entrance from the south to Bergen, the island of Bokn, by the Dutchmen called Buk van Raa. At this characteristic high island was the most famous *høuse*-place in Norway. In 1622 the Icelandic musketeer Jon Olafsson went to Bergen in attendance on the Danish king Christian IV on some war-ships. He describes the ceremony there:⁷

We then came off a sea-mark, called Buk van Raa. Here it was an old custom and use of the sailors that every one who for the first time sailed by was to be hoisted into the sea from the main yard-arm, unless he ransomed himself by a gratuity. When our king learned this, he mitigated this requirement in the following way: he gave every 4 men in company ('mess') a can of wine, containing 6 *potter* (= 1½ gallon), saying that he knew pretty well that his people preferred to be wet inside than outside. Consequently this sailors' punishment did not take place on that occasion, because of the gentleness of the king.

1 Loorits, *op. cit.* p. 137; Sven Andersson.

2 E. Smith, *Nautisk ordbok* (1914), p. 174.

3 O. Rudbäck, *Atländs... Tridie Del* (1947), p. 765.

5 Loorits, *op. cit.* pp. 136, 138.

7 *Oplevelser som Bässeskytte under Christian IV* (1905), p. 228.

4 Sam Owen Jansson.

6 Boesen, *op. cit.* p. 49.

In about 1750 the sailors still held the ceremony here,¹ but soon after it must have gone out of use.

On the long journey to the Russian harbours in the Arctic Ocean the sailors in the seventeenth century were baptized not only when passing the North Cape (*Nordkap*), but also off Nordkyn, the most northerly point in Europe (about 50 kilometres east of North Cape).²

Also the southern point of Norway, Cape Lindesnæs was known to be a *høse*-place. Swedish sailors observed the ceremony here until our days.³

Along the foreign coasts of Europe a lot of other places are known, where the sailors performed the baptism. The most famous places were undoubtedly Pointe du Raz (Brittany, France), the islands of Berlengas off Lisbon and the Strait of Gibraltar, but there were many other places along the British, French, Portuguese, Italian and Turkish coasts.

The sailors' baptism is a branch of the numerous initiation-rites that are known all over the world, among both uncivilized and civilized people. When the boys of primitive tribes are to be introduced into the company of grown-up men, they must show their courage in enduring severe pain and want of food and demonstrate their ability as hunters.

From Europe related usages are known. The young apprentices among the artisans were ill-treated by their older comrades when they had finished their education, and moreover they had to pay an abundant amount for a meal with plenty of drink and food for all of them. It will be seen that this is the same symbolic meal, by which a new man is recognized as a real fellow of the others, as on board ship.

The older students at the universities treated the new ones in almost the same way (*depositio*), and in the schools the young pupils were—and still are—baptized by their older comrades.

When a foreign farmer came to a village he had to give a feast for the guild of the other peasants, with beer and abundant food. The boys in the village who wanted to be acknowledged as grown-up men had to carry heavy stones, smoke a pipe, drink a glass of brandy, kiss a girl, etc., and last, not least, to give their comrades a feast.

The sailors and the fishermen used the same ceremonies.⁴ The young cabin-boys that came on board were baptized, keel-hauled, ducked, shaved, examined and tried in other ways. On some modern ships in Denmark and Norway—and most likely in other countries—the new sailors are brought to a cabin by their comrades, where they are *mønstret* (mustered); they must

¹ Boesen, *op. cit.* p. 49.

² Peder Syv, *op. cit.* p. 360; O. Rudbäck, *op. cit.* p. 272.

³ Erik Hägg: *Under tretungad flagga* (1941), p. 98.

⁴ Henning Henningsen in *Handels- og Sefartsmuseets årbog* (1948), pp. 64 *seq.*

take off their clothes, and their genitals are examined in a rather obtrusive way (in order to ascertain that they have no venereal disease, they say). If they let them do it, it will soon be over, but if they make resistance, the genitals are besmeared with a mixture of grease, tar, etc. After this they give a glass of beer and are acknowledged by their comrades as good members of the crew.¹

It is now more than a century since the first folklore students and scientists wandered over various countries to collect material about the habits and traditions of the people. Millions of records have been collected since then, hundreds of books have been written on account of them, and the science of folklore has won its reputation and place beside other branches of knowledge. But unfortunately most of the records deal with the life and faith of the rural population. Our forefathers forgot almost completely to question other classes of people—the artisans, the population of the towns, the workers, the fishermen and the sailors. This is why we are rather ill-informed with regard to the traditions of the sea. Of course, we know something about them, but not enough, when we want to get to the bottom of them. And now it is too late to start a new collection. We must resign ourselves to admitting that it will be impossible for us to know exactly and in detail the traditions of the old and dead sailors. We must be thankful for the small and casual testimonies that have been preserved for us to use. Our theme, the sailors' baptism, would have been easier to treat in a complete way, if we had known more about it than we do. We can only guess that it has been much richer and more widespread than we know now.

The author is preparing a book on the baptism of sailors in European waters, on crossing the Tropics, the Arctic Circle, the Line, etc., and would be grateful to receive material and references from readers. It would be interesting to have records from English ships of the Kullen-baptism. Address: Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg, Helsingør (Denmark).

Postscript

Mr J. W. van Nouhuys informs me in a letter that he was baptized himself, on passing for the first time what in Dutch is called the *Kofmanslinie* at Elsinore (Cape Kullen), on 28 July 1882, when on a voyage on board the Dutch bark *Frans* from Schiedam to Riga.

1 Dr. phil. Svale Solheim, Oslo, and others.

TO RESCUE HIS HOLINESS—THE MISSION OF THE *ALCESTE* IN 1808

By P. G. Mackesy

THE year 1808 opened darkly for Britain. Alexander's deal with the enemy at Tilsit had given Napoleon the mastery of the Continent and the initiative in the war against England. Further British intervention in Europe seemed hopeless. Russia was in close alliance with France; Austria, isolated and bankrupt, had been forced into the enemy's camp; and Prussia lay dismembered, surviving only by the grace of the Tsar.

The Portland ministry waited anxiously for Napoleon to strike. The navies of Denmark and Portugal had been saved from his grasp; but in every port from the Baltic to Constantinople the navies of Russia, Holland, France, Spain and Turkey lay at his command. Would he invade Ireland from Lisbon? or challenge Britain's command of the Mediterranean by seizing Spain and Sicily? or launch his troops eastwards beyond the Adriatic to settle the fate of the Ottoman Empire? Britain had drawn together her scattered resources, but little could be done except to wait for Napoleon to reveal his decision. Beyond the seas General Whitelocke's capitulation at Buenos Ayres had annihilated our hopes in South America. Yet in their anxiety to do something, the ministers were planning a fresh effort in the New World. For the Old they had no designs except a *coup de main* against the Spanish squadron in Minorca.

From this impasse Britain was saved by the Spanish revolt which broke out in May. It was a turning point in the long struggle with France. At one stroke a new prospect opened. The barren wastes of Spain would swallow up Napoleon's armies, forcing him to relax his grip on Italy, giving a breathing space to Austria, and postponing the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. In the Mediterranean the Spanish navy and the French squadron in Cadiz were eliminated. Minorca would soon be opened to Lord Collingwood's fleet as a base for the blockade of Toulon. The naval force which Napoleon had rebuilt in the Mediterranean since Trafalgar was crippled and confined to the port of Toulon.

As Sir Arthur Wellesley prepared to sail with a military force for Portugal, the thoughts of Castlereagh and Canning turned to the exploitation of the enemy's difficulties in other quarters. An overture was despatched to Austria, peace negotiations were reopened with the Porte, and the commanders in the Mediterranean were ordered to further the plans for

a general rising in Italy of which the ministers had learnt through the British legation in Palermo.

It was at this moment of optimism that the government was reminded of a plan which had originated two years earlier in the fertile mind of Robert Adair, then Ambassador in Vienna. In the summer of 1806, when Napoleon was pressing Pope Pius VII to adhere to the coastal blockade against English merchandise, Adair had assured the Papal Nuncio in Vienna that Pius would be welcomed if he should seek asylum on British territory. Adair was toying at the time with a scheme for an Italian insurrection to be based on a national army in Sicily; and he reinforced his official despatch on the subject of the Pope with a private letter to William Windham, the Secretary for War, in which his exhilaration at the prospect was released from the constraint of official correspondence.

'Now the Pope's name', he wrote, 'is of more power than his sword. The Pope, I believe, would much rather leave his dominions than enter into such an alliance. *In conversation*, I have offered him refuge in Sicily. *Do not disavow me*. We can do everything if we can get him there.'¹

Adair's project was now recalled by an appeal to the British government from M. Galeppi, the late Nuncio in Lisbon, for the protection of the Pope. The French had occupied Rome. With Catholic Spain in revolt, and Italy plotting to follow its example, the Pope would be an ally of incalculable value in the struggle. On 24 May Adair himself arrived from Vienna by way of the Mediterranean, and was immediately closeted with Canning in conference about the prospects of peace with Turkey. Canning listened to his views with respect, and commissioned him to go to the Dardanelles and negotiate a settlement. He was also entrusted with other plans for the Mediterranean, and soon became the first challenger for Lord Collingwood's unique position of ascendancy in the theatre. Nothing is more probable than that he persuaded Canning to attend to the Nuncio's appeal.

On 18 June the Admiralty ordered Collingwood to station a frigate off the Roman coast, 'it being probable that His Holiness the Pope may endeavour to effect his escape from the States of the Church, recently usurped by Bonaparte'. A week later Adair set out for Malta on his way to Turkey, carrying with him instructions for William Drummond, the Minister at Palermo, to arrange the rescue of the Pope, and letters from M. Galeppi informing the Pope of the plan.²

On 13 July Adair joined Collingwood off Cadiz. The Admiral was sceptical about the prospects of a serious revolt in Italy; but he wrote at once to Palermo, putting at Drummond's disposal for the rescue of the

¹ Add MSS. 37,884, f. 109 (undated, to William Windham, received 24 August 1806).

² Add MSS. 14,279, f. 27.

Pope the 38-gun frigate *Alceste*, late *Minerve*. She had been commanded for the past two years by Captain Murray Maxwell, who had recently distinguished himself against a Spanish convoy in the shoals off Cadiz.¹

But by the time Drummond learnt of the cabinet's hopes, matters had been muddled locally. A month earlier the Court of Palermo had seized on a proposal to establish the Pope in Sicily. Pius, with natural caution, had demanded a letter in King Ferdinand's handwriting. This was provided, and a Mr Fagan, an English painter, had offered to make the arrangements with the Pope. He sailed in a Sicilian frigate. His real object, however, was to get his wife out of Rome,² and he succeeded in making his enterprise known all over Italy. In any case the plan had reached the Sicilian island of Ponza off the Neapolitan coast, whence the intelligence passed straight to Joseph Bonaparte at Naples.³ In Rome General Miollis had noted the British cruisers off the coast, and was having the Pope watched; and Fagan returned ignominiously to confess his failure.

Now, with the secret already out, came the letters from Canning and Collingwood. Drummond felt obliged to renew the attempt. He looked round for suitable agents, but failed to find any. Reluctantly he turned to the Sicilian Court for assistance. It was notorious that any secret which reached Queen Caroline was in the hands of her French favourites in a matter of minutes, to become the common gossip of the streets before the day was out. But with Adair's assent Drummond confided his difficulties to the King and the Foreign Minister, under a promise to keep the secret from the Queen.⁴

The *Alceste* put into Palermo on 12 August, in time for her commander to hear of Drummond's approach to the Court. Captain Maxwell, on whom the execution of the enterprise was to fall, urged that the chosen agents 'ought to be men of spirit and enterprise, who would at all hazards go thro' with what they undertook'. Everyone agreed; but although secret agents were the only warlike store of which there was no shortage at Palermo, much time was lost in finding men of the right kind. At length, when Maxwell had waited impatiently for a fortnight, a Jesuit and three monks were sent on board. They had been to Rome before, on ecclesiastical missions from the Court. Drummond added to the party a friend of his own, a Count Canizzaro, to interpret and do the honours to His Holiness on behalf of King Ferdinand; and for good measure there was a Roman

1 Adm. 1/414, No. 160; James, *Naval History*, Vol. iv, p. 319. Sir Murray Maxwell still commanded the *Alceste* when she accompanied Lord Amherst to China in 1816.

2 FO 70/33, 5 February 1809, Mellish to Canning.

3 A. du Casse, *Correspondence du roi Joseph*, Vol. iv, p. 233.

4 FO 70/32, 29 August, Drummond to Canning.

guide, 'whom I was assured', said Maxwell, 'would go thro' with everything, as they had been promised a large temporal reward, and the completion of the service would ensure them an eternal spiritual one'.¹ The priests carried an unsigned letter in the King's hand, inviting the Pope to try the air of the writer's country villa in view of his declining health. It was arranged that Maxwell should put them ashore, and after allowing them four days to communicate with the Vatican, should send a boat in daily at sunrise for the answer.²

On 26 August the *Alceste* slipped out of Palermo harbour and steered to the northwards. Scarcely had she gone when Drummond learnt that her destination was already publicly known in Malta. But there was nothing to be done, and he had worries enough of his own. Another of his schemes, to set a Sicilian Bourbon on the throne of Spain, was going astray. He had received Canning's disapproval of the plan, but too late, for he had already shipped a Sicilian prince in a British warship to Gibraltar. He may have guessed that his stay at Palermo was drawing to its end.

Captain Maxwell sailed on, little suspecting that his secret was public property. The Jesuit insisted on calling at Ponza for a certain pilot, without whom the priests would not attempt to land. Maxwell consented, but took elaborate precautions to conceal his destination. Word was sent off to the governor of the island that the *Alceste* was cruising to intercept the enemy's convoys, and the pilot came on board without arousing any suspicion of the enterprise. On the 31st the *Alceste* was off Ostia on the Roman coast.

One of the priests and the guide were put ashore, and succeeded in communicating with Cardinal Pacca. The Cardinal appeared surprised but gratified by their appearance, and asked the priest to stay until an answer could be prepared. He, however, refused to wait; and after arranging that a boat from the *Alceste* should go in every night till a messenger appeared, he returned on board the frigate.

On the next two nights a boat went inshore without result, and on the third a gale blew up which prevented the boats from approaching the shore. Thereafter they went in night after night. No messenger appeared. Had he come on the third night and departed again? Maxwell could not think of quitting the coast after successfully communicating with the Vatican; but the *Alceste* had drawn an arduous service. Constantly embayed off the mouth of the Tiber, contending with rapid currents and gales, her commander passed many anxious days and nights.

Time passed, and it seemed necessary to send to Rome again. The priests

1 Adm. 1/414, No. 242, enclosing Maxwell's of 13 October.

2 FO 70/32, 29 August, Drummond to Canning.

agreed; but none of them would go. 'Temporal safety, my lord, I then saw, became paramount to spiritual reward', Maxwell wrote to Collingwood; and seeing that the priests were useless, he granted their urgent requests to return to Palermo. The *Acorn* sloop was in company, and the clerics were turned over to Captain Clephane and shipped back to Sicily.

The *Acorn* was gone a week. When she returned, she brought a supposed Sicilian colonel whom Drummond had found willing to go to Rome. The colonel, uncertain when he would return, asked that a boat should be sent in every night to await him; and fortified by Maxwell's promise to do so, he vanished into the occupied territories on the evening of 19 September.

Night after night went by. Often bad weather prevented the boats from going ashore, but on thirteen nights in the next month they went in and waited. One night the ship's launch was swamped in the surf and lost, stranding four of her crew on the beach. There were several enemy prisoners in the *Alceste* to be offered for exchange, and a flag of truce was sent in to the castle of Fiumicino, whose commander was willing to make the exchange, but must send to Rome for permission. Two days later a flag of truce was flown from the castle. The First Lieutenant set out in the cutter, taking the Third Lieutenant to interpret. For ten days no more was heard of them, but on the night of 12 October some deserters came out to the ship with the news that the officers had been marched as prisoners to Civita-Vecchia.¹

Drummond waited in high hopes for the success of the 'colonel's' mission. But on 19 October, in the Neapolitan newspapers, he read the end of the story as far as it was ever known to him. The 'colonel', who was a Roman named Vanni, had been arrested as a spy the moment he landed, and was shot on the following day.²

With this obscure tragedy of a Bourbon agent ended a scheme which might have established the Pope as the ally of Protestant Britain in the struggle against Napoleon. There were no more British attempts to rescue him, though at the moment of Pius's arrest a year later the King of Sardinia proposed to invade Rome with British help and release him.³ Napoleon would take no more chances. At Savona a flotilla patrolled the gulf, and in 1810 a Spanish attempt in response to an appeal from Pius was unsuccessful.⁴

1 Adm. 1/414, No. 242, enclosing Maxwell's of 13 October. A few details are to be found in the Master's Log of the *Alceste*, Adm. 52/3770, but the Captain's Log is not in the Public Record Office.

2 FO 70/32, 29 September and 19 October, Drummond to Canning.

3 FO 67/39, 3 July 1809, Hill to Canning.

4 Napoleon Correspondence, No. 15738; FO 70/39, 8 May and 5 July 1810, Amherst to Wellesley.

In Sicily or Spain Pius might have rallied the Catholic conscience of Europe against Napoleon. But in Rome, and later at Savona and Fontainebleau, he was stifled. His arrest by General Radet in 1809 caused a momentary stir in Italy, and animated the Spanish guerrillas. But in the rest of Europe little was heard of him. The French prelates could soothe their conscience with the thought that the Pope, though a prisoner in the Emperor's hands, had never denounced Napoleon. The adulation of the new Charlemagne went on.

MIDSHIPMEN

By Commander C. G. Pitcairn Jones, R.N.

THE early history of the midshipman is traced, probably as fully as it can be traced with any certainty, in Professor Lewis's *England's Sea Officers*; but it is still not very clear, at first sight, why this particular title was thought appropriate for very young gentlemen who were undergoing training for commissioned rank, especially as it is evident that from what Boteler tells us about the distribution of pillage that, to an earlier generation, the midshipman was a person of no little consequence, ranking before such people as the master gunner, the carpenter and the boatswain.

And yet the explanation may be very simple after all. The point to keep in mind is that all the difficulty arises because the Royal Navy developed a special organization in order to fulfil its special function as a fighting force, while the function of the merchant vessel, and therefore the officers and men who were required to work her and to attend to her gear, remained practically unchanged. One must also remember, as Professor Lewis points out, that the word 'officer' did not necessarily mean an officer in the modern sense, but only that the holder of the title performed some particular 'office' on board a ship: thus the men who held warrants from the Navy Board, and their opposite numbers in merchant ships, were all 'officers' and of course more important than their own mates and assistants, but they were not more important than the master's principal assistants, who had to be not only experienced seamen but men who had been initiated into the 'mystery' of navigation. I think that this is the key to the problem. Any man could become a seaman, just as any man could become a labourer, and if he was willing and able he might rise to a position of considerable importance and responsibility; but normally a man could become a master mariner (or a master of any trade or profession ashore) only by serving an apprenticeship during which he worked for his keep and the opportunity to learn and practice the secrets of the profession, the master getting the benefit of his services during the years of bondage, and perhaps helping to find him employment when he was qualified for it. The master's mates were men who were already far on the road to command; who were capable of taking charge of a watch at sea, and who might at any time be called upon to take command of the ship herself and be responsible for her safe navigation.

I would suggest that the original midshipman was an apprentice who had

reached the stage when he could be of real use in assisting with the working of the ship, and who, perhaps, was fully qualified to take a mate's berth when an opportunity presented itself. I think that this explains all the early references to midshipmen. We know that he was one of the master's assistants from Pennington's letter to Buckingham; we know from Boteler that his service was rated highly, though not so highly as the mate's, and Smith's rather obscure remark about mates being 'allowed sometimes for the two midships men, that ought to take charge of the first prise' falls into place when we remember that he was trying to give a general picture of sea life at a time when conditions were changing. I feel sure that originally the term mate implied that the man was the understudy of the officer to whom he was attached, and that there was only the one mate to each officer. By Smith's day the larger ships would require more than one watch-keeping officer and perhaps assistants for these officers, and (in a man-of-war, at any rate) there would have to be provision for the command of prizes and tenders. These additional duties would call for additional master's mates; or some of them might be given to the most experienced of the apprentices. I think that what Boteler is trying to say is: 'The master and his *mate* are to direct the course. . . the (other) mates are only (the mate's) seconds, allowed (for duty) sometimes (done by) two midshipmen'. As to the title 'midshipman', it seems fantastic to suppose that it is in any way related to the duty that was performed—nobody's duty can have been specially related to the midship line of the ship, except the helmsman's—but it could very well be given to apprentices if they messed together in a berth that was commonly situated amidships.

The above appears to fit in with the few early references to midshipmen; with the organization of guilds ashore, and with the practice in merchant vessels in a later age (and, as I have said, there is no reason why the practice in such vessels should have changed much). I think, too, that it throws a good deal of light on what happened in the Royal Navy. Originally, as we know, there was a sharp distinction between the officers who commanded the great ships in the Royal Service and those appointed as their assistants, all of whom were appointed on account of their social rank rather than for their knowledge of seamanship, and the officers who worked the ships and attended to their gear, who were of exactly the same class as the officers of merchant ships, and were, indeed, always interchangeable with them. That many of the former class became excellent seamen is no doubt true, just as it is true that many of the latter were great fighting officers; the fact remains that there was a strong and not altogether unfounded belief that 'tarpaulin captains' could not always be relied upon in battle, and that it was essential to the fighting efficiency of the fleet that a regular supply of sea officers of

the superior class should be provided. The first step was to provide for a regular supply of captains by insisting that the lieutenants should do duty as officer of the watch; the second, to ensure that there was a stream of young gentlemen coming forward to replace the lieutenants who were promoted or removed from the list. The rough and ready solution, which was arrived at by the officers of the navy themselves, was to do very much what was done in the merchant service—to take the boys for whom they wished to provide careers as what were, in effect, apprentices; the only real difference being that whereas the master of a merchant vessel was often most interested in the amount of work that could be got out of his protégé, the captain of a man-of-war was more likely to have the ultimate end of the training in view. This system of entry as captain's servant must have been going on 'ever since Adam was an oakum boy'. We know, too, from *Barlow's Journal*, that masters and master's mates in the navy could embark real apprentices as their servants; indeed the regulations laid down that standing warrant officers, who were allowed servants when the ships were in ordinary, were allowed none who were not bound to them by indenture for at least five years. Barlow, who was apprenticed to a chief master's mate, says that if he had made the most of his opportunities, he would have been eligible for a mate's place at the end of his time. Presumably the navy got all its watch-keepers by this method, or by direct entry from the merchant service, before the lieutenants became capable of doing the duty. It would seem, therefore, that when the training of junior officers was put upon a more regular footing, in the second half of the seventeenth century, it was only a matter of introducing a few modifications to a long established system, and of laying down more definitely the standard that must be attained before a youngster would be considered as a candidate for promotion—and, of course, the official recognition that the boys who were entered were intended for the quarterdeck. Whether the young gentleman started as a 'King's Letter Boy' and made his first appearance on board ship as a first-class volunteer, or whether he followed the more usual path of going to sea as a captain's servant, he was to undergo much the same training that a master of a merchant vessel might have prescribed for a specially favoured apprentice: first to learn the duty of an able seaman (but not necessarily to actually practise it); then to serve as assistant to the officer of the watch—the naval regulations said 'as a midshipman or a mate' because those were the titles that had long been in use; but as the watch-keeping in the larger ships was then done by lieutenants, they might just as well have said 'as lieutenants' mates, or sub-lieutenants'.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, the idea that midshipmen were destined to be commissioned officers was so firmly established that they

were amongst the first to be provided with a uniform, 'to distinguish their class to be in the rank of gentlemen', and it is probable that the boys of the same class who had not yet attained the rating were allowed to wear something very similar; but the older type of midshipman—the man who held the rate because somebody was required to do the work, not because he was being trained for the rank of lieutenant—was still common enough, particularly in the smaller ships; for in those days, when the chances of rising in the service depended so much on being known to the right people, most parents tried to place their sons with distinguished and influential captains. An unknown captain might have protégés of his own, or he might oblige a friend who had no vacancy in his own ship or who wanted a boy to have the experience that could be gained in a smaller vessel, but he often had to make use of the best men available in his ship's company, some of whom were almost sure to have been apprentices in merchant ships.

The *Blandford*, a sixth rate, allowed two master's mates and four midshipmen, is an interesting example of how things were managed in one of these ships in the middle of the eighteenth century. She may have been rather exceptional. Richard Watkins, the captain who commissioned her in February 1755, was dismissed by a court martial two years later, and the next captain, Penhallow Cuming, was a notable rogue who was dismissed from the service at the end of the commission, one of the many charges being that he had oppressed his officers and men unduly. It is on record that 'he would on the least provocation given him by any of the quarter-masters, boatswain's mates, midshipmen, or other petty officers, break them and turn them before the mast, distrate them of their wages, and sometimes flog them'. None of the midshipmen were actually flogged while holding that rate, but one was assaulted with a horse-whip and threats of flogging must have been almost a matter of routine. The men who served as midshipmen during this commission were:

JAMES BLAKE. Volunteered at Dover¹ on 10 March 1755 and was rated master's mate in April. He was disrated to midshipman on 19 October 1757; disrated to able seaman on 5 April 1758; re-rated midshipman on 4 June, and disrated again on 20 August. Blake was the man who was horse-whipped, and after he was disrated to able seaman for the second time, he was threatened with a flogging for continuing to wear his midshipman's waistcoat. At Cuming's court martial it was said that he was one of the best petty officers in the ship and that he had been made to do the duty though deprived of the rate. In the minutes of the court he is always

¹ I think that this means that he was taken out of a homeward-bound merchant vessel. A general impressment was ordered on 12 March.

referred to as a master's mate, and so he may have been restored; but when the *Blandford* paid off, he was among the men who were sent to the *Vengeance* as supernumeraries and there is no record of him being transferred to that ship's book with the others, nor any note about what became of him.

WILLIAM LADD. Joined the *Blandford* as a midshipman on 8 March 1755; mate on 1 April 1756, in place of a man named Simmonds, who had been discharged to Plymouth Hospital in November. He was discharged by Admiral Frankland's order on 1 April 1757, but it is not clear whether this means a discharge from the service or a move into another ship.

ZOUCH PILCHER. Volunteered at Dover on 7 March 1755 and was entered on the *Blandford's* book as a midshipman. He was disrated to able seaman on 28 April 1757, and discharged to hospital at Port Royal on 16 January 1758.

JOHN ROBERTS. Joined as a midshipman on 28 March 1755; disrated to able seaman on 28 March 1757. He ran from a boat at Port Royal on 21 January 1758.

JOHN RICKMAN. Joined as a midshipman ordinary on 27 February 1755; discharged to the *St George* on 11 January 1756.

JOHN POPE. Joined as a midshipman on 20 June 1755; deserted on 15 July.

JAMES JACKSON. Volunteered as an able seaman on 12 June 1755; rated midshipman on 15 July; disrated on 5 June 1757, and discharged to hospital at Antigua on 6 August.

WILLIAM SHOULDER. Entered as gunner's yeoman on 24 March 1755; rated midshipman on 1 January 1756. He died in hospital at Port Royal on 3 June 1758.

JAMES MOWAT. Came to the ship as acting lieutenant on 23 January 1757, when Captain Watkins was put under arrest and the only lieutenant, Archibald Darrock, assumed temporary command. In the shuffle that followed Watkins's dismissal, Darrock went to the *Anson*, Mowat continuing to act until 29 March, when the new lieutenant joined; he then reverted to master's mate, and on 12 February 1758 was disrated to midshipman, no doubt because Cuming wanted the place for his nephew. Mowat managed to get himself moved to the *Lynn* on 17 May. I have not tried to follow his career further, but I think that I am right in saying that he was never promoted.

HENRY WADHAM. A nephew of Captain Cuming, who came from the *Speaker*, as a midshipman, on 28 March 1757. He took Mowat's place as mate on 12 February 1758.

WILLIAM YOUNGHUSBAND. He is shown as an able seaman on the *Garland's* books in April 1754, and was rated midshipman by Mulineux

Shuldham on 1 January 1757. He was moved to the *Blandford* on 25 April. On 19 October he took Blake's place as mate, but on 9 August 1758, after a particularly scandalous cruise in a tender, he was disrated to midshipman. He probably acted as master during the next three months, as that officer was under arrest and awaiting court martial, and he had done the duty on similar occasions. Younghusband died at Plymouth on 10 January 1759—possibly because Plymouth gin did not suit his constitution so well as Jamaica rum. He was very partial to the latter beverage: when he was sent away in the tender, at the end of June 1758, he took the precaution to lay in a private stock of fourteen gallons to eke out his service allowance on the month's voyage to Charleston, but some time before reaching that port (which they did reach more by accident than by design) he had to insist that his crew should provide for his needs, because 'he could not subsist without liquor'!

THOMAS LOWEN. Volunteered at Dover on 24 March and was entered in the *Blandford* as an able seaman. He was rated midshipman on 5 June 1757, but disrated on 29 August, according to some of the witnesses at the court martial because he had refused to take his captain's hint to purchase a spy-glass that was being sold amongst other plunder from a prize. Lowen was rated midshipman on board the *Vengeance*, in July 1759, and held the rate until he was discharged to Plymouth Hospital in June 1760.

ROBERT CRAWFORD. Entered from a merchant vessel at Carlisle Bay on 18 July 1757; rated midshipman, in Lowen's place, on 29 August; disrated for stealing rum on 12 October; next day he and three companions in crime received a dozen apiece at the gangway.

THOMAS RATCLIFF. Volunteered on 11 December 1755 and was entered in the *Blandford* as a quarter-gunner; disrated to able seaman on 20 March 1757; rated coxswain on 1 September; rated midshipman on 5 April 1758. In the *Vengeance* he was rated only as an able seaman. He deserted from that ship on 18 June 1759.

JOHN BROWN. Volunteered and was entered as an able seaman on 8 December 1755; punished with six lashes, for drunkenness and neglect of duty, on 9 March 1756, and with twelve, for being fighting drunk, on 25 January 1757; rated quartermaster 24 May 1757, and midshipman on 13 July 1758. Brown was a midshipman in the *Vengeance* and was promoted to master's mate on 4 March 1760.

If the above is tabulated it will be seen that in the latter part of 1755 there were five midshipmen, one of whom was a midshipman ordinary. The regulations say that only volunteers by order could be given this rate, and that 3rd rates were allowed four, 4th rates three, 5th rates two and 6th rates one. I think that they must have been additional to the number of mid-

shipmen laid down for each rate in the table of wages. They were paid only as able seamen—six shillings a month less than other midshipmen in 5th and 6th rates. From January 1756 until October 1757, there were always four midshipmen; after then, never more than three. It may be that the men who were tried and disrated were not suitable; it is certain that Cuming never gave any of them a second chance, except Blake, who was rated again only because it was necessary to find two officers to command tenders which were needed as whippers-in to a large convoy. As soon as this duty was completed, Blake was disrated again. During the passage home from America, when the lieutenant and the master were under arrest, there were only five executive officers in the ship besides the captain: Thomas Gaborian, who came from the *Winchelsea* as acting lieutenant and mate (he was confirmed when the *Blandford* paid off, and was eventually promoted to captain in 1778); Wadham, as master's mate; the alcoholic Younghusband probably acting as master but rated only midshipman, and Brown and Ratcliff, both of whom were perhaps pretty tough characters.

It will be noticed that none of the men who were rated midshipman had appeared in the ship's books as captain's servants. No less than thirty-four persons held that rating—seventeen in Watkins's time and seventeen in Cuming's, a captain normally being allowed four for every hundred men of the complement (the *Blandford*'s being 140); but a good many were almost certainly coloured men, and there may have been local regulations about these. Watkins started with four servants, all but one of whom left the ship just before she made her first start for the West Indies, in August 1755. When he finally sailed, in the end of January 1756, he had five, two of whom left the ship with him, one who was discharged by order of Admiral Frankland as soon as the *Blandford* reached Barbados (and who may have been only a passenger), one who was rated able seaman on 30 September 1756 and who went on to the *Anson* with lieutenant Darrock, and one who was rated ordinary seaman on 30 September 1756 and who deserted on 4 June 1757. Besides these there were Samuel Smith and Daniel Williams, who had been the servants of Mr Smith, Gunner, discharged dead on 8 September 1756. Williams was moved to the *Antigua* sloop on 12 January 1757; Smith left the ship when Captain Watkins went. Another servant of this sort was William Showers, no doubt the son of Mr Nathaniel Showers, Purser. He had come to the ship as purser's servant on 2 August 1755, and had been turned over to the captain on 13 July 1756. He was discharged when Watkins left, and there is no record of what became of him until 10 September 1757, when he re-entered as one of Cuming's servants. On 3 February 1758 he again became purser's servant. It may be said in passing that there appears to have been a good working understanding

between Captain Cuming and Purser Showers. Shortly after Cuming assumed command there had been a little unpleasantness about 401 gallons of rum, embarked for private use and for sale to the ship's company, 'the rum being very bad', and Showers was suspended for this, 'and likewise for neglect of his duty and scandalous behaviour unbecoming his character as an officer'; nevertheless, Mr Showers was one of the select band of officers who avoided a court martial. He remained at his post until he died, about a month after the ship got back to England. I think that Thomas Quash and Archibald Darrock, who both joined at Antigua on 16 May 1756, and who left by request on 30 September, must have been darkies—Darrock perhaps being given the lieutenant's name by way of a joke. Thomas Saturday, who joined on 9 September, may have come in place of one of them. Another servant who may have been a negro was Dennis Dawley, who joined at St Kitts on 12 July 1756; was rated ordinary seaman on 27 September, and deserted at St Kitts on 3 March 1757.

Cuming's servants are on much the same lines. Four certainly came with him from the *Speaker*, and of these two remained until the end of the commission. Another four, one of whom went back to England in the ship, may have been entered by Commander Charles Middleton, who was in temporary command for a month before Cuming was able to join. Only two of the other followers remained for any time—six or seven months was enough for most. It is rather a curious thing, by the way, how easy it seems to have been for a servant to be discharged by request: everybody else was discharged by order, or discharged to hospital, or discharged dead, or deserted. How many of Cuming's people were black and how many white cannot be said. Neptune was certainly coloured, and I should think that names like Tom Fowley, Tom Reading, Tom Falmouth, Tom Liverpool and Richard Boston were probably taken from the names of ships. It is also possible that some of Cuming's servants were not men. It was stated at his court martial that he always kept a black girl on board when in the West Indies and that he brought a white woman home to England. It is possible that the two last servants to be entered were the lady and offspring; they embarked on the same day, a week before the ship left Charleston, and were discharged on the day the *Blandford* reached Plymouth, and one was named John Penhallow.

DOCUMENT

THE BRIEF NAVAL CAREER OF JOHN HILL JAMES

By W. E. May

The brief naval career of John Hill James is of interest not only as an example of an exercise in biographical research but because of the evidence which it gives of the celerity with which a matter of welfare could be and was handled during the early years of the last century, even though the characters concerned had no interest to summon to their aid.

This search started with the chance preservation of the following letter when a number of family papers were being destroyed. The spelling of the original has been retained.

Plymouth October 4th 1806

Dear Mother

I have taken the opportunity of letting you know wher I am as I suppose you are in great trouble about me as you have not heard off me since I have bin missin. On the Morning as I left Stanham I walked to Newbury and about 11 oclock ther was a coach started from thence to Southamton and I went with it and slept ther that night and the next morning ther was a coach started from thence to Portsmouth and I went with that and when I came there I entered on board a Frigate of 42 guns she is called the Unicorn she came in a bout three months a go from the West Indies she was paid last Satturday for the Prizes as she took and after she was paid we sailed to Plymouth were we remains I wrote a Letter last week to send but I could not send it a shore.

We expect to sail every day and we expect to go to the Straits but I suppose that we shant sail not untill Sunday or Munday.

I suppose that M^r Parsons think that it was he a talking to me as I did not do as he wished me and as he and me had not kept so good Friends as we was at first. But it was not that as made me set of it was in my mind for three or four months past had run a great deal on the sea so that I did not take any delight in my business nor any other trade as I could think off. So I thought that I would go to sea and if ever I did come back that how I should be easy in my mind and I thought that how I would consult with you and then I did think that how you would be so uneasy about it and at last I took it into my head to set off and so I did and now I think upon the man that would not have a wife off his mothers choosing all as I repent for is to think that how I should give you such trouble when I know what trouble you had before but when I dun this I did not think of trouble nor nothing else.

so no more at preasent I remain

Your disobedient Son

John James

Please to forgive me for what I have dun for God will punnish me for doing so Dont send an answer for we shall be at sea before it come to me so farwell.

This letter is addressed to: M^{rs} Shusanna James

Poulton Inn

to be left at Old Down Inn
near Wells

Somerset

The Muster Books of the *Unicorn*, Captain Lucius Ferdinand Hardyman (Public Record Office Adm. 36/16881 and Adm. 37/1241), yielded the information that James had volunteered at Portsmouth on 3 September 1806 and been entered as a Landsman in the Supernumerary List. On 23 September he had been transferred to the Ship's Books in the same rating, giving his age as 20 and his place of birth as 'Hollowtrou', Somerset. The James family had been settled at Hallatrow for generations and owned land there. Some of the family were tanners and had business relations with the Hills. John Hill James was actually only sixteen but it appears that landsmen were supposed to be over twenty on entry. His father had died when he was only two or three years old.

I have been unable to trace the cause for the next entry in the Muster Books. On 28 September James was transferred to the list of Second Class Boys by Admiralty Order. A thorough search of all Admiralty Out-letters in the Public Record Office has failed to reveal any relevant order. Perhaps his age had been detected and he was re-rated under some standing order.

The *Unicorn* went round to Plymouth as recorded by James in his letter to his mother, but when she sailed on 9 October it was not as he expected to the Mediterranean but for Monte Video. She arrived there on 7 January 1807 and took part in the operations against the town. On 19 January the Muster Book notes that James had been rated Ordinary Seaman and on 29 January the Captain's Log (Nat. Mar. Mus. Adm./L/V/93) reports: 'Came on board John James with the Loss of an Arm by one of the Enemys Shells'.

James was discharged to the *Leda* on 8 February as recorded in the Muster Books of both ships (Adm. 36/17373 for *Leda*). She sailed for home with despatches and arrived at Portland on 11 April (Lieutenant's Log, Nat. Mar. Mus. Adm./L/L/60).

The Register of Seamen in Haslar Hospital (P.R.O. Adm. 102/290) notes that James was received from the *Leda* on 13 April with the loss of an arm and that he was discharged out of the service on 19 April. What happened in these six days is best told in the following letters:

India Arms, Gosport 17 April 1807

Sir,

Having observed the name of John James on the List of the Wounded belonging to His Majesty's Ship the *Unicorn* at Monte Video, and having yesterday received an intimation that he had been received at Haslar Hospital, I arrived here last night and found that his wound had occasioned the loss of his Right Arm. As I am his Unkle and Guardian, I have to beg that you will be pleased to solicit the favor of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to grant his Discharge, as his Mother who is in a bad state of health is anxious for his presence. I am informed by the Governor of the Hospital that in the common course of the Service he will be shortly discharged as an Invalid, but for the reason I have mentioned, and his being a giddy young man of very considerable property I hope their Lordships will allow him to accompany me to my resedence near Bath.

I am, Sir, with a great deal
of respect, your most obed^t Servant
Thomas Hill

William Marsden Esq
Secretary of the Admiralty
London

[Endorsed]

18 April Directions for his Discharge if the case appears to be as here stated. Let him know it.

19 April Report from Gov^r Yeo

(P.R.O. Adm. 1/4771. No. J. 30)

Royal Hospital, Haslar
the 19 April 1807

Sir,

You will please to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the enclosed weekly return of the state of the Hospital between the 11th & 18th inst.

The circumstances of the case of John James, appearing exactly as represented in Mr Hill's letter, and have in consequence of their Lordships commands received this morning ordered him to be discharged from the Hospital.

I return Mr Hill's letter as directed, and have the honour to be,

Etc

W. Yeo

William Marsden Esqr.

(Haslar, Letter Book)

The remarkable celerity with which the release of our hero was achieved will be noted.

Thomas James, the eldest of John's children, died in 1908 at the age of 76. He used to recall how their father delighted to lean down from his horse and to swing one of his offspring on to the saddle with his single arm. One of Thomas's sons, Commander A. D. B. James, served in the Royal Navy in both Great Wars.

RECORDS

MANUSCRIPTS AT THE NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM. PART 1

The collection of manuscripts now at the National Maritime Museum has been formed during the last twenty years by gift, by purchase and by deposit—permanent or temporary—arranged in conjunction with the Admiralty, other official bodies or the owners. In the absence of a detailed catalogue of these MSS. the following notes on the scope and arrangement of the collection may be of assistance to students anxious to use this material, which relates to naval history from the fifteenth century to the present time. Some of it has been used already by biographers and naval historians, but much of it has never been consulted, since before being incorporated in the N.M.M. collection it lay unknown in private houses and old store yards.

The manuscripts fall into two main divisions: natural collections and artificial collections. Among the former are the official records of administration, central and local, relating to the Royal Navy and the Merchant service and the personal papers of individuals collected during their careers. The most important artificial collection is from the Phillipp's library, and includes several smaller collections. It contains enough material to deal with several aspects of naval history for more than three hundred years. Other collections have been formed by the interest of the collector in one subject or period, and these also relate to many aspects of naval administration and practice as well as providing much useful biographical material. Individual items, both books and papers acquired by the N.M.M. have been catalogued in the same division as artificial collections.

In arranging this mass of manuscript material, which occupies at present over 5000 feet of shelving, any indication of the original sequence or filing has been maintained and used as the basis of the present arrangement. In the absence of such information, the known practice of the office concerned or the career of the individual has determined the present arrangement. The artificial collections formed to illustrate one particular subject are self explanatory and easily arranged, but the larger collections, those dealing with a period rather than one subject, and the single items collected by the N.M.M. present a more difficult problem, and have been arranged by subjects chronologically. Letters have been dealt with separately and indexed under the name of the writer.

The summary which follows is concerned only with the natural collections, and the description of the artificial collections will be the subject of another article. The lists which are given in the different sections are not exhaustive, but have been compiled to give some idea of the more important series of documents and collections.

SECTION I. OFFICIAL RECORDS. CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

A. Royal Navy

The records of the Admiralty, Navy, Victualling and Transport boards now at the N.M.M., which are for the most part duplicates of papers at the Public Record Office, were deposited by arrangement with the Admiralty. They consist of the original orders which passed between the various boards in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and are invaluable for any study of naval administration during that period. The lieutenants' logs which form part of this collection include several captains' journals, but these are usually duplicates of those at the P.R.O. The logs have been preserved from the time of Pepys until 1809 and are bound with the captain's certificate and the Admiralty office receipt according to the name of the ship, in which the lieutenant was serving. These records are still in the original binding, and the seal of the board whose records they were is often stamped on the cover. There are also a large number of loose papers which had been preserved in cardboard folders.

(1) <i>Admiralty Board</i> . In-letters—Originals		
From the Navy Board	1738-1831	136 volumes and loose papers
From the Victualling Commissioners	1703-1822	51 volumes and loose papers
From the Sick and Hurt Commissioners	1742-1806	35 volumes and loose papers
Letter books		
To the Navy Board—Ticket Office orders	1774-1815	106 volumes
(2) <i>Navy Board</i> . In-letters—Originals		
Admiralty Orders—General	1688-1815	1356 volumes
Admiralty Orders—Transports	1741-1799	17 volumes and loose papers
Admiralty Orders—General Bentham	1799-1808	4 volumes
(3) <i>Victualling Commissioners</i> . In-letters—Originals		
Admiralty Orders	1707-1815	400 volumes
Indexes		
Abstract of Admiralty Orders	1694-1819	26 volumes
(4) <i>Sick and Hurt Commissioners</i> . In-letters—Originals		
Admiralty Orders—General	1702-1806	54 volumes
Admiralty Orders—Prisoners of war	1743-1783	28 volumes
(5) <i>Transport Commissioners</i> . In-letters—Originals		
Admiralty Orders—Sick and Hurt	1807-1815	9 volumes
Admiralty Orders—Prisoners of war	1796-1799	8 volumes
(6) <i>Lieutenants' Logs</i>		
Arranged alphabetically by the names of the ships	1678-1809	5205 volumes

B. *Mercantile marine*

The archives of the Mercantile marine in the custody of the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen are now deposited at Hayes, Middlesex, but by a special arrangement a selection of these records was temporarily placed at the N.M.M. These documents illustrate the progress made since the late eighteenth century in keeping records of the registration of all British ships through Port Registers, and in controlling the employment of seamen and establishing a standard of competency.

(1) <i>Registration of Shipping</i>		
British Ports	1814-1826	12 volumes
London Registers	1787-1800	8 volumes
Plantation and Colonial Registers	1807-1855	18 volumes
East Indian Ships	1824-1855	12 volumes
(2) <i>Employment of Seamen</i>		
Register of Seamen	1835-1844 }	2 volumes
	1852 }	
Register of Indentured Apprentices	1704 }	2 volumes
	1845 }	
Ships' Muster Rolls—Liverpool	1772-1774 }	3 volumes
	1802 }	
Ships' Logs	1884-1940	37 volumes
	(not consecutive)	
Certificates of competency	1850-1921	55 certificates
Crew Lists— <i>Cutty Sark</i>	1870-1895	21 lists

SECTION 2. OFFICIAL RECORDS. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION. DOCKYARDS

The dockyard records now at the N.M.M. consisting of the papers of two home dockyards, Chatham and Portsmouth, and two foreign yards, Halifax and Jamaica, have been deposited by arrangement with the Admiralty. The Chatham and Portsmouth records run from the time of Charles II to 1900 and they have certain features in common. Both dockyards were administered until 1832 by a resident commissioner who was also a member of the Navy Board, and the commissioners' correspondence with the Admiralty and Navy Boards, and with the dockyard officers has been preserved in both cases. After 1832, the Board of Admiralty was responsible for the administration of the dockyards, where a superintendent replaced the commissioner. This correspondence from 1832 to 1900 is included in the Chatham and Portsmouth records. The Chatham records differ, however, in containing the original orders from the Navy Board, while the Portsmouth orders are only letter book copies. The correspondence of the commissioner at Portsmouth in his capacity of governor of the Royal Academy is also found in his letter books. The business of Sheerness dockyard in the eighteenth century was also the responsibility of the commissioner at Chatham. Although there are gaps in the main series of both dockyards, the material is useful for the light it throws on the general conditions of the dockyards in the eighteenth century. It also provides information on the materials used in ship-building and the rate of progress. The officers' reports contain much technical information and some contracts have been preserved.

The records of Halifax and Jamaica, which were transferred to the Admiralty in 1905 when Halifax was handed over to the R.C.N. and Jamaica closed down, were subsequently deposited at the N.M.M. They are incomplete in both cases and difficult to arrange owing to the frequent alteration in the administration of the yards. The Halifax records are chiefly interesting for the information they contain about the administration of an overseas dockyard in the early nineteenth century, although there are two interesting letter books for 1783-7. The Jamaica records are very fragmentary and deal only with the period from 1809 to 1835.

Chatham records

(1) <i>Commissioners' and Superintendents' Office.</i> In-letters—Originals		
From the Admiralty Board	1715-1817	13 volumes
From the Navy Board	1791-1832	62 volumes
From the Admiralty	1832-1900	651 volumes
Letter books		
To the Admiralty Board	1716-1817	6 volumes
To the Navy Board	1689-1829	51 volumes
(2) <i>Dockyard Officers' Records.</i> In-letters—Originals		
From the Navy Board	1672-1831	156 volumes
Letter books		
To the Navy Board	1790-1820	30 volumes
Indexes		
Abstract of Navy Board Orders	1796-1821	32 volumes

Portsmouth records

(1) <i>Commissioners' and Superintendents' Office.</i> In-letters—Copies		
From the Admiralty and Navy Boards	1773-1827	5 volumes
From Dockyard Officers—reports	1699-1818	31 volumes
From the Admiralty	1840-1900	240 volumes
Letter books		
To the Admiralty Board	1707-1821	19 volumes
To the Navy Board	1705-1832	43 volumes
To the Dockyard Officers	1693-1829	31 volumes
(2) <i>Dockyard Officers' Records.</i> In-letters—Copies		
From the Navy Board	1695-1822	69 volumes

Halifax records

(1) <i>Commissioners' Office</i> . Letter-books		
To the Dockyard Officers	1805-1819	9 volumes
(2) <i>Dockyard Officers' Records</i> . In-letters—Copies		
From the Navy Board	1805-1833	7 volumes
Letter books		
To the Navy Board	1810-1826	3 volumes
(3) <i>Storekeepers' Records</i> . Letter books		
To the Commander-in-chief	1819-1881	7 volumes
To the Admiralty	1834-1887	10 volumes
General—local letters	1820-1880	6 volumes

Jamaica records

These consist of eight miscellaneous volumes, 1809-35.

SECTION 3. SEMI-PUBLIC RECORDS. LLOYDS' REGISTER

By arrangement with the Chairman of Lloyds' Register of Shipping, some of the surveyors' reports and plans were deposited at the N.M.M. 1950-1. These papers are arranged chronologically according to the port of survey and can only be used in conjunction with the General Index, which is kept at Lloyds. The information on the reports includes the surveyors' remarks and classification, but the plans seldom contain a complete drawing of the ship. None of these papers has been bound.

Lloyds' records

(1) Aberdeen	Reports of surveys	1834-1899
	Plans	
(2) Glasgow	Reports of surveys	1847-1900
	Plans	
(3) Iron ships	Reports of surveys	1848-1883
	Plans	
(4) London	Reports of surveys	1833-1900
	Plans	

SECTION 4. PERSONAL PAPERS

The collections of personal papers now in the N.M.M. provide a mass of interesting and in many cases new material for the student. Although the majority of these collections have belonged to naval officers who reached the rank of Admiral, there are some valuable collections of captains' records. Surgeons, pursers, naval architects and merchants are also represented. In addition to the details of naval practice which these records contain, further information about the administration of the Navy is found in the papers of some of the First Lords of the Admiralty. The earliest collection is that of Sir William Penn (1621-70) and the most recent include material for the 1939-45 war.

Austen, Sir Francis (1774-1865)	Admiral	Logs: letter and order books	1795-1845
Berry, Sir Edward (1768-1831)	Rear-Admiral	Logs: letters from Nelson	1787-1814
Bridge, Sir Cyprian (1839-1924)	Admiral	Journals: letter books: loose papers	1881-1898
Caldwell, Sir Benjamin (1737-1820)	Admiral	Logs: letter and order books	1768-1795
Carteret, Philip (d. 1796)	Rear-Admiral	Logs: letter book: loose papers	1751-1781
Clements, Michael (d. 1796)	Captain	Logs: letter and order books: loose papers	1748-1780

Codrington, Sir Edward (1770-1851)	Admiral	Journals: letter and order books: loose papers	1793-1848
Codrington, Sir Henry (1808-1877)	Admiral	Logs: letter and order books: loose papers	1823-1872
Collingwood, Baron, Cuthbert (1750-1810)	Vice-Admiral	Letter books: letters received	1793-1810
Cope Cornford, Leslie (d. 1927)	Journalist	Letters received	1902-1927
Cornwallis, Sir William (1744-1819)	Admiral	Journals: letter and order books: loose papers	1759-1806
Cunningham, Sir Charles (1755-1834)	Rear-Admiral	Log: loose papers (chiefly about the mutiny, 1797)	1796-1830
Dartmouth, Baron	—	<i>See under</i> Legge, George	
Douglas, Sir James (1703-1787)	Admiral	Logs: letter books: ships' papers	1734-1776
Duckworth, Sir John (1748-1817)	Admiral	Letter and order books: loose papers	1790-1815
Duff, Robert (d. 1787)	Vice-Admiral	Logs: loose papers: letters received	1744-1779
Duncan, Viscount, Adam (1731-1804)	Admiral	Logs: loose papers: letters received	1754-1804
Elliot, Gilbert, Earl Minto (1751-1814)	Diplomat	Letter books: loose papers: letters received	1793-1797
Elliot, Gilbert, Earl Minto (1782-1859)	Politician	Loose papers: letters received	1835-1844
Elphinstone, George, Viscount Keith (1746-1823)	Admiral	Journals: letter and order books: loose papers: letters received	1772-1815
Exmouth, Viscount		<i>See under</i> Pellew, Edward	
Foley, Sir Thomas (1757-1833)	Admiral	Letters received	1797-1832
Grant, Samuel (dates not known)	Purser	Journals: loose papers	1793-1803
Graves, Thomas (1677-1755)	Rear-Admiral	Logs: letter and order books: loose papers	1702-1743
Graves, Baron, Thomas (1725-1802)	Admiral	Logs: letter and order books: loose papers	1746-1794
Griffin, Thomas (d. 1771)	Admiral	Logs: letter and order books	1716-1749
Hamilton, Sir William (1730-1803)	Diplomat	Letters received: drafts of letters written	1793-1800
Hamond, Sir Graham (1779-1862)	Admiral	Journals: loose papers: letters received	1819-1858
Hood, Viscount, Samuel (1724-1816)	Admiral	Logs: letter and order books: loose papers	1760-1815
Hood, Sir Samuel (1762-1814)	Rear-Admiral	Logs: loose papers	1782-1814
Jervis, John, Earl St Vincent (1735-1823)	Admiral	Letters received from Nelson: letters written	1795-1804
Keats, Sir Richard (1757-1834)	Admiral	Loose papers: letters received	1788-1812
Keith, Viscount		<i>See under</i> Elphinstone, George	
Kelly, Sir Howard (1873-1952)	Admiral	Logs: diaries: loose papers	1889-1945
Keppel, Viscount, Augustus (1725-1786)	Admiral	Order books: letters received	1748-1778
Legge, George, Baron Dartmouth (1648-1691)	Statesman	Naval journals: letter and order books: plans and maps	1666-1688
Maclear, John (1838-1907)	Admiral	Journals and work books	1873-1887
Madden, Sir Charles (1862-1936)	Admiral	Diaries	1914-1918
Milne, Sir Alexander (1806-1896)	Admiral	Logs: letter books: loose papers	1817-1882
Minto, Earl		<i>See under</i> Elliot, Gilbert	
Napier, Sir Charles (1786-1860)	Admiral	Letters received	1831-1854

Nelson, Viscount, Horatio (1758-1805)	Admiral	Bridport Papers. Nelson family letters and relics	1799-1834
		Girdlestone Papers. Nelson family letters	1789-1846
		Trafalgar House Papers. Grants of honours: Nelson letters	1783-1805
Owen, William Fitzwilliam (1774-1857)	Vice-Admiral	Loose papers	1798-1842
Parker, Sir William (1781-1866)	Admiral	Logs: letter and order books	1841-1852
Pell, Sir Watkin (1788-1869)	Admiral	Loose papers: letters received	1809-1863
Pellew, Edward, Viscount Exmouth (1757-1833)	Admiral	Letter and order books	1795-1816
Penn, Sir William (1621-1670)	Admiral	Journals: letter book: loose papers	1644-1669
Phipps Hornby, Sir Geoffrey (1825-1895)	Admiral	Letter and order books: loose papers	1865-1880
Pocock, Sir George (1706-1792)	Admiral	Loose papers: letters received	1728-1762
Pole, Sir Charles (1757-1830)	Admiral	Loose papers: letters received	1769-1822
Pryce Cumby, William (d. 1837)	Captain	Letter and order books: loose papers	1796-1815
Rainier, Peter (1741-1808)	Admiral	Logs: letter books: loose papers	1778-1804
Richmond, Sir Herbert (1871-1946)	Admiral	Logs: diaries: loose papers: letters received	1896-1945
St Vincent, Earl		<i>See under</i> Jervis, John	
Sergison, Charles (1654-1732)	Clerk	Navy Board Minutes and orders: official lists: drafts of letters	1673-1718
Silvester, Sir Philip Carteret (1777-1828)	Captain	Logs: letter books: loose papers: letters received	1792-1817
Stephenson, Sir Henry (1842-1919)	Admiral	Journals: letter books: loose papers	1868-1883
Tiddiman, Richard (d. 1762)	Captain	Logs: letter and order books: loose papers	1729-1762
Vernon, Edward (1684-1757)	Admiral	Letter and order books: loose papers: letters received	1739-1747
Walker, Sir Baldwin Wake (1802-1876)	Surveyor of the Navy	Loose papers: letters received: official reports	1848-1860
Yorke, Charles (1764-1834)	Politician	Letters received	1810-1812

K. F. LINDSAY-MACDOUGALL

NOTES

THE BATTLE OF CAPE ST VINCENT

There are some curious deficiencies in the English accounts of the battle. Drinkwater, Tucker and James either did not see or did not comprehend Cordoba's report which, even with Duro's comment, is by no means clear; and they did not see the *Victory's* signal log.

The body of ships which our accounts call 'the lee division of the Spanish fleet' was a convoy of four 'urcas' carrying mercury, with two two-deckers in company, joined later by Moreno with two three-deckers and a two-decker. Captain Richard Bowen, the Senior Naval Officer at Gibraltar, reporting to Jervis that the Spanish fleet had passed the Straits on 5 February, gives its force, though not with certainty, as twenty-six of the line, six or seven frigates, 'two or three large ships resembling two-deckers', and a convoy. This report reached Jervis by the *Viper* cutter on 9 February. If Jervis had known what these 'large ships' were and had been able to distinguish them from the remainder, and had had a few more ships fit to pursue, he might have destroyed the Spaniards as a fleet, struck a severe blow at Spain's economy and, incidentally, filled the pockets

of his officers and men with prize-money. Nelson had studied Cordoba's report, and may well have had it in mind when he wrote 'that people did not know what they could do until they tried', and that 'numbers only can annihilate'.

There was also a 68-gun ship laden with mercury. Almaden, about 100 miles north of Malaga, was one of the only sources of mercury then known in Europe, but five ship-loads of it provoking curiosity, I consulted Messrs John Taylor and Sons, mining engineers. Large supplies would be required for amalgamating the silver ores from the mines in the Spanish Colonies, for which the mercury was probably destined; as the Spanish Treasury drew large sums in taxation from these mines, it was to their interest to keep them regularly supplied. Early in the nineteenth century the founder of that firm (cousin to my great-grandfather) organized a company to re-open and work the very large Real del Monte mines in Mexico, belonging to the Conde de Regla. Oddly enough, this was the name of one of the three-deckers which left the main body of the Spanish fleet and covered the mercury convoy.

The Spanish Fleet had been driven by a levanter to leeward of its port and to the S.W. of Cape St Vincent under the lee of which Jervis had taken shelter, and Cordoba could not take up his correct course till the wind drew round to the westward on the morning of 14 February, when he ordered a course of E.S.E. At 6.30 he made the signal to form order of sailing in three columns, the Admiral in the centre, the van under Morales de los Rios on the right, the rear under Moreno on the left. At 8, hearing gunfire astern, Cordoba ordered two 74's and a frigate to drop back and protect the small craft in the rear. (These were the two ships which came down from the S.W. at 4.30 when Cordoba had struck his flag and saved him from capture.) About 9, on a suspicious sail being reported to larboard, Moreno was ordered to chase; he was followed by his seconds. At 9.30, as the weather was still thick and many ships were far from their stations, the order to form in three columns was repeated; on this, the fleet shortened sail, but the mercury convoy carried on to the E.S.E. (This was the group sighted by the *Victory* to the S.E. and described as 'the lee division'.) About 10 the suspicious sail to the N.N.E. were reported as a fleet of fifteen to eighteen ships and several frigates, and about 10.30 Cordoba ordered his fleet to form an emergency line of battle on the larboard tack, reversing the course of the fleet, mixing the ships of all three squadrons together, and putting all the senior officers at the rear of the line, with the Admiral last, and Moreno and the mercury convoy still farther to leeward. No wonder Cordoba could not get his signals obeyed!

When Troubridge, having forced his way between Moreno and his main body, tacked at 12.8 in pursuit of the latter, Moreno and his seconds tacked after him, and delivered a sharp counter-attack, which disabled the *Colossus* and delayed the tacking of the *Victory*, thus splitting the British fleet into two parts. The *Victory* could not tack till 12.45; then Jervis, having 'seen off' Moreno, at 12.50 ordered the *Britannia* to tack, and at 12.51 made the general signal 'Take suitable stations for mutual support and engage the enemy as arriving up with them in succession'. By 1 the whole British Fleet was standing to the N.W. in pursuit of the enemy's main body, headed by Nelson, who was already hauling out of the line when his Admiral's signal was hoisted. Cordoba had managed, by hail and signal, to get five ships of his own squadron to form astern of him, but eleven remained ahead and to windward, two or three deep and in disorder; perhaps they were trying to form in normal sequence. Of the twenty-seven sail of the line which left Cartagena on 1 February, three had been detached on the 5th off Algeciras, two early on the 14th to cover the rear, two were with the urcas and three with Moreno, leaving with the Flag only seventeen, one of them laden with mercury. The mercury convoy followed Moreno all day, keeping out of gunshot.

About noon, seeing a gap in the British line developing, Cordoba ordered the ships in the van to wear and double on the enemy's rear. As nothing happened, he ordered the whole fleet to bear up together, and led the way in the *Trinidad*. Nelson could now lie up for him, and did so, on the ground that the Admiral in close action with Moreno could not see what was happening and that his evident intention would be frustrated unless some 'prompt and extraordinary measure' was taken. If times were correctly recorded, Jervis was just hoisting the signal to take stations for mutual support. For various reasons the ships which had been in the rear on the old course were

more advanced on the new; Nelson, the first to move, reached the head of the van, the *Diadem*, his next astern, its rear; Collingwood took station ahead of the *Victory* and led the rear, the *Barfleur* formed astern of the *Victory*, while the slow old *Britannia*, in spite of her 1-minute start, brought up the rear.

Nelson, as is made clear by his 1803 Memorandum, took as established practice Art. XIV of the 1783 Instructions which the signal Jarvis used had replaced: 'When each ship as they get up are to engage their opponents, and on no pretence to quit them.' Parker, the senior officer in the van, who had just joined from the Channel, did not; he kept on making 'Fill and stand on'.

When Cordoba struck his flag, at about 4.30, he had with him besides the *Trinidad*, the *Mejicano* and *Soberano*; Moreno, with two three-deckers (his third ship had kept away to the north), was coming up astern, still attended by the mercury convoy of two two-deckers and four urcas, looking like six of the line; the two two-deckers detached at daylight were coming down from windward; two ships from the van, in compliance with a signal for a general attack on the enemy, made about 5, wore round and bore down. There were nine of the line, but looking like thirteen; and there were nine more ships, including Moreno's third ship, ahead or to windward. Jarvis had eleven ships fit for pursuit, with four disabled ships and four prizes to cover; he broke off action, and even Nelson agreed.

As Jarvis well knew, Nelson had followed an example he himself admired. When Edward Brenton asked Jarvis if his method of attack had been guided by Clerk of Eldin, he replied: 'Sir, I never thought of him. Lord Hawke, when he ran out of the line and took the *Poder*, sickened me of tactics. The Admiralty wanted to disgrace him for it, but George the Second saw his merit and rewarded it.' Both Nelson and Calder must have known their Admiral's views. But Jarvis knew his Nelson, and as George Elliot says: 'It was an invariable rule with St Vincent not to do what anybody asked, and it made no difference whether the sufferer was friend or foe.'

A. H. TAYLOR

LORD COCHRANE ON ABUSES IN THE ADRIATIC

In August 1806, Captain Patrick Campbell was ordered into the Adriatic by Lord Collingwood to command a newly formed cruiser-squadron in the Gulf of Venice. He served there with distinction, and when the French occupied Corfu at the Peace of Tilsit he dropped down to the Lower Adriatic to blockade the Ionian Islands. In November 1807, his ship, the *Unité* frigate, went in to Malta to refit, and he was relieved by Lord Cochrane in the command of the station.

Cochrane's version of his command¹ is as follows. Before taking over his squadron, he captured three merchantmen off the blockaded island of Corfu, only to discover that they were sailing under passes from the officer (unnamed) whom he was about to relieve. Nevertheless, as the officer had no authority to issue the passes, Cochrane sent the prizes in to Malta for adjudication. The other officer retaliated by informing Collingwood that Cochrane's want of discretion made him unfit for the command of a squadron. His appointment was withdrawn, and he lost the only opportunity of independent command which he ever had in the Royal Navy. When Collingwood learnt the truth some time later from Cochrane himself, he expressed strong indignation. On Cochrane's return from the Mediterranean in 1809, after his adventures on the coast of Catalonia, he was waited on by the officer in question, who begged him to publish the story, pleading that his purser had used his name without his knowledge. Cochrane, busy with preparations for the attack in the Basque Roads, let the matter drop.

The story cannot be broken by internal evidence. But the fact that it comes from Cochrane makes it suspect; and it is unlikely that a man of his passionate temperament would not have retaliated against the officer who had deprived him of the only squadron he had ever commanded. Moreover, early in December Captain Harvey was sent in the *Standard* 64 to take command in the Adriatic: that is to say, Cochrane was superseded by a superior officer in a ship of the line, not merely removed, and he remained for a time under Harvey's command.

¹ Dundonald, *Autobiography of a Seaman*, Vol. 1, pp. 237-9.

But the incident has a sequel for, in December 1808, Collingwood came in to Valletta in the *Ocean* to refit, and it was reported to him that Campbell, who had returned to the Adriatic to command the cruisers in the Gulf of Venice, had been selling small prizes before they were condemned. Campbell's defence was that they were unfit for the voyage to Malta, and that the papers had been forwarded to the Admiralty Court there. Perhaps Cochrane's complaints had had their effect on Collingwood: at any rate he condemned the practice as irregular, and giving latitude for abuses, and removed Campbell from the station.¹

Whether Collingwood had been awaiting an opportunity to remove Campbell on account of Cochrane's report, and whether the story provides confirmation of Cochrane's accusation, is left to the reader to decide. If Campbell was guilty, he was not alone; for Collingwood's report of the matter to the Admiralty was occasioned by complaints that the late Captain Heppenstall of the *Kingfisher* sloop had been selling prizes.

P. G. MACKESY

POPHAM'S 'TELEGRAPH' FLAG

It will be recalled that the reviewer of *Flags of the World* (see Vol. 39, No. 4, November 1953, p. 319) criticized my having stated that Popham's 'Telegraph' flag was 'diagonally white and red'. I obtained this information from what I thought were reliable sources, namely: (1) an Admiralty printed plate, 'Nelson's Signal at the Battle of Trafalgar', dated 4 January 1908; (2) 'Nelson's Signals' (*N.I.D.*, Historical, no. 1), dated October 1908; and (3) Perrin's *British Flags*, p. 178.

I have subsequently been given an opportunity of examining no less than four copies of *Telegraphic Signals or Marine Vocabulary*, by Sir Home Popham—two at the Admiralty Library and two at the National Maritime Museum. In both cases, each has a copy of the 1803 and 1805 editions.

Here follows an extract from p. 6 of all four copies:

'Instructions for the Flags used with this Vocabulary only.

Preparative	Preparatory to any message, a diagonal red and white flag.
Message finished	{ It is denoted by a diagonal blue and yellow flag, which may be hoisted or not according to circumstances, or the telegraph flag hauled down.'

I included the foregoing particulars in a letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, and the reply I received reads as follows:

'I regret that at this distance of time it is almost impossible to state the exact colours of the telegraph flag used in the signal. Most signal books were issued with only the outline of the flags printed, leaving it to the recipient to add colours. 'Diagonal red and white' could be easily hand coloured 'diagonal white and red', and with many ships making up their own signal flags from coloured bunting, it is possible that in some ships the colours were wrongly shown.

'It would appear, from the printed instructions in Sir Home Popham's vocabulary, that it was originally intended that this flag should be 'diagonal red and white', but this does not necessarily preclude the possibility of an incorrectly coloured flag being hoisted.'

In regard to the last sentence of the penultimate paragraph of the review, the following may also prove interesting:

During the course of my investigations, I learned, from the Commodore's Secretary, R.N. Barracks, Portsmouth, that the 'diagonal white and red' flag 'is hoisted in H.M.S. *Victory* on Trafalgar Day, and it has been so since 1949, and probably earlier. The same applies to the signal hoisted in H.M.S. *Mercury*, the Signal School, and in H.M.S. *Ganges* and H.M.S. *St Vincent*, Boys' Training Establishments....'

H. GRESHAM CARR

ACTION BETWEEN H.M.S. NIGHTINGALE AND SIX FRENCH GALLEYS

With reference to the very spirited narrative which appears under the title of *Mémoires d'un Protestant*, translated by Lady Fawcett (*M.M.* May 1954, p. 145 *et seq.*) the following notes may be of interest.

The author, Jean Martulle de Bergerac, a French Protestant condemned to the galleys for his faith, writing perhaps many years after the event, is a year out in his dating of the above engagement. The day of the month, 5 September (N.S.) or 25 August (O.S.) is not in dispute; but my authority for stating that the year was 1707—not 1708—derives from three documents in the N.M.M., Greenwich, the reference numbers of which are: (1) Adm. A/1953, a letter dated 6 September 1707 in which the Admiralty direct the Navy Board to launch the new 6th-rate under construction in Mr Johnson's yard and to name her *Nightingale*. This was obviously to replace the ship of the same name captured only a fortnight before. (2) Adm. A/1958, f. 2731, a letter dated 14 January 1707/8 from the Admiralty to the Navy Board stating that the *Nightingale* 'taken by the French in October last' (October is a clerical error)—'and renamed *Rossignol* has been retaken by the *Ludlow Castle*'. This letter goes on to direct her restoration to the navy list 'as before, as a 6th-rate' and to be renamed *Fox*. (3) And lastly, Adm. A/1969, f. 3997, a letter dated 5 January 1708/9 dealing with a matter connected with adjustment of *Nightingale's* pay accounts definitely states the date of her capture as 26 August 1707.

Laird-Clowes (*The R.N.: a History*, Vol. II, p. 537) correctly gives the date of the action and also supplies the name of the *Nightingale's* brave captain, Seth Jermy, though no authority is quoted for either statement. Charnock (*Biogr. Nav.* Vol. IV, p. 23) is of little or no assistance here, beyond saying that Jermy was first commissioned as 2nd-Lieut. of the *Northumberland* in 1692, that he did not attain command until 1710, was pensioned in 1712 and died in 1724. He makes no mention whatever of the *Nightingale*. Nor does Jermy's name appear in the seniority lists of captains and lieutenants printed in May–August 1700. Details of this officer's service filling in the gap between 1696 and 1707 are, however, to be found in the monthly lists of ships in sea pay; preserved among the MSS. of the Sergison Collection in the N.M.M., Greenwich.

These lists include the name of the captain of each ship; and I am obliged to our member, Miss Lindsay-McDougall, for extracting from them the following references to Captain Seth Jermy: *Spy*, brigantine, 1696–May 1701, in which month the ship was paid off at Deptford. *Nightingale*, 6th-rate, 24 guns, 115 men, October 1702–August 1707. This ship is shown as fitting out at Chatham in February 1703/4 and as being employed on convoy duties.

As Jermy was appointed to command the *Antelope* in April 1710 he had either escaped from France or, more probably, had been exchanged before that date. Charnock (*op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 192) gives a fairly detailed account of the traitorous and unpleasant Captain (Thomas) Smith, including the recapture of the *Nightingale* by the *Ludlow Castle* and says that the other French ship concerned in that operation was also a captured English ship, the *Squirrel*, which managed to get away. I have recently seen an English translation of de Bergerac's *Mémoires* published in 1864 by the Religious Tract Society under the title of *The Autobiography of a French Protestant condemned to the Gallies* which, though it includes the account of the action with the *Nightingale*, omits altogether the story of her recapture. That de Bergerac was not himself present on that occasion is clear for, as he tells us in the above-mentioned publication, he was seriously wounded. Continuing his account of the fight he describes the shattering effect of the *Nightingale's* guns as she lay broadside to broadside with the galley. To his horror, de Bergerac saw a seaman moving methodically along the battery with his lighted match firing each gun in succession, and that the gun immediately opposite his own place pointed straight down the thwart to which he and five others were chained, at point blank range. By standing up at the full extent of his chain he managed to escape the full force of the discharge which killed his five oar-mates and dangerously wounded him in three places. It is pleasant to read that he eventually recovered and escaped to England where he and a party of his co-religionists were received in audience by Queen Anne. The *M.M.*

article does not quote the provenance of the document from which the translation has been made, but the Tract Society's volume repeats the error in the date, for which de Bergerac, and not his translators, is evidently responsible. As regards the traitor, Capt. Thomas Smith, *Charnock* (*loc. cit.*) confirms that he was hanged as such but, oddly enough, discounts the idea that this was on a charge of attempting to burn Harwich, though admitting that there was a note to that effect against Smith's name in a document quoted. I have found no evidence to support de Bergerac's statement (which was necessarily from hearsay) that Smith ran away with a 70-gun ship and sold her in Gothenburg. The *Nightingale's* gallant self-sacrifice in defence of her convoy is in line with tradition of which the action of the *Jervis Bay* is a modern example. It is to be remarked that it took place at a time when the mercantile community were complaining of the inadequate protection given to their shipping.

R. D. MERRIMAN

De Bergerac was naturally not in a position to know much of Thomas Smith's life before the capture and recapture of the *Nightingale*, but it is certain that the story of his taking an English 70-gun ship to Gothenburg in 1708 and selling her there is purely imaginary. The *Nightingale* was captured in August 1707, any 70-gun ship lost in the years immediately before then is accounted for otherwise, there is no record of the sale of any English man-of-war at Gothenburg and Smith had not been employed in the English service since 1703, when he was dismissed from the *Bonetta* sloop. He had been appointed to the *Germoon prize*, a very small ship, in 1696. These last details are taken from Laird Clowes.

The *Nightingale* was a ship of 24 guns, not 36. She was commanded by Seth Jermy, whom I cannot find in Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*. The *Ludlow Castle*, which retook her in January 1707/8, was a 42-gun ship, not a 70. After her recapture she became the *Fox*.

R. C. ANDERSON

TROMP AND NAVAL TACTICS

Professor Boxer has been all too modest in leaving to others Tromp's contribution to tactics; no one could do it as well as he, or get on without his writings. Tromp was no friend to paper, as the late Captain Warnsinck has said, and his views must be deduced mainly from his deeds.

Tromp may not have been the first seaman to realize that ships could best support one another against attack by forming in close order on a line some seven points from the wind; that honour probably belongs to the Portuguese, see Towerson's account of his action with five Portuguese ships off the Guinea coast on 27 January 1557, in *Hakluyt*, Vol. vi, p. 221. But it is from Tromp that we get the first clear statement of the advantages of such a posture, through Pennington's master Peter White, in *Tromp's Journal* (C. R. Boxer), pp. 38, 43, 210, 215. In his action with Oquendo off Calais on 16 September 1639, Tromp's ships were close upon a wind and two ships' length asunder so that when they luffed up to give their broadsides one was clear of the other. This was apparently a new idea to Peter White.

There was nothing new about Order of Battle; it was one of the first points to strike a soldier taking up command afloat, like Wimbledon in 1625. Northumberland's 'Brief Directions' of 1636 put his fleet of eighteen ships into six groups of a flagship and two seconds: a simple and practical arrangement for mutual support which long remained in use (Mainwaring, Vol. i, p. 236). But it is again from Tromp that we get the earliest formal Order of Battle for a large fleet organized in squadrons and divisions. He issued it on sailing for the Île de Ré on 27 November 1652, three days before the Battle of Dungeness. Blake issued his in January 1653, after that battle had been fought and lost (*First Dutch War*, Vol. iii, pp. 203, 374). Regular fighting in line came later; the Flag Officer led the 'charge', with his two best ships as seconds; the remainder of the division supported as best they could. De Ruyter's instructions to his squadron of July 1653 (*First Dutch War*, Vol. v, p. 118) are not unlike Northumberland's, except that they are more concerned with boarding than with gun-fire. Tromp and his officers were slow to realize that to carry a ship by boarding before her consorts had been defeated was to invite the loss of both prize and captor (*First Dutch War*, Vol. v, p. 48).

It is in what one might call 'the opening' and 'the end game' that Tromp the seaman is at his greatest. He is in the right place at the right moment, while his opponents Blake and Monck, great fighting men but not seamen, find themselves unexpectedly baulked at critical moments by sands, tides, shifts of wind and other difficulties which Tromp foresaw and used, and they did not. As the Army would say, he made good use of ground.

Thus, in his campaign against Oquendo in September 1639, Tromp with twelve ships at the outset against sixty-seven succeeded in shepherding the opposing fleet into the Downs and after building up his own to 103, destroying it there.

Again, in November 1652, Tromp with eighty-eight caught Blake in the Downs with forty-two. Blake sailed, but Tromp so placed his fleet that in the end Blake had to choose between hazarding his fleet like Oquendo in the Downs or being cornered by Tromp off Dungeness. He chose the latter.

When Tromp returned up channel in February 1653, he kept close to the English coast, as the wind was between W. and N. Blake lay between Portland and the Casquets, some 15 miles from the English shore. So, when the fleets made contact at daylight on 18 February, Tromp was dead to windward, free to run through. But seeing Blake with only a score of ships in company and the rest to leeward and astern, Tromp attacked, apparently without waiting to form up, and was repulsed. On the evening of the third day, when Blake's pilots said the Dutch could not clear Grisnez and induced him to anchor, Tromp held on and next morning anchored the remains of his fleet and convoy in safety off Calais. Similarly, at the end of the Battle of the Gabbard, 2/3 June 1653, Tromp saved his defeated fleet from destruction by taking it in behind the Wielings, where our heavy ships did not venture to follow.

Tromp's greatest achievement was in July 1653, when by skilful timing of his movements, he drew Monck from the position off the Texel where he lay between the two parts of the Dutch Fleet, tacked unseen at night and so united it for the great battle in which he lost his life and the Netherlands their greatest seaman.

A. H. TAYLOR

Professor C. R. Boxer's article on 'Admiral Van Tromp', in the *Mariner's Mirror* for the first quarter of this year, was of especial interest to me.

The people of the town of Peterhead, in Aberdeenshire, where I lived for a number of years, have for generations claimed the father of Maerten Harpertzoon Tromp as a fellow citizen; indeed, the annalists of the district of Buchan, of which Peterhead is the capital and main seaport, have constantly reiterated the contention that the elder Tromp had his genesis there. In the sixteenth century Peterhead was known as Keith Inch, being a demesne of the noble house of Keith, the Earl Marischals of Scotland. At that time it was merely a fishing hamlet or haven, but each summer, for many years, its population was greatly augmented by the arrival of Dutch fishermen and their families, and this colony left its impress on a neighbourhood which to this day speaks a vernacular containing many Dutch words and phrases. When a lad, the elder Tromp (it is supposed) was either adopted by the Dutch fisherfolk or pressed into their service, accompanying his masters to Holland.

If the historians had any documentary proof that the father of M. H. Tromp was really Martin Harper, or Martin Harper Troup (both Harper and Troup are names common to the area), they did not quote it; but they did refer to Gordon's *History of Scotch Affairs, 1637-1641*, in which the author wrote that Admiral Tromp was 'the sonne of a Scotch father, ane Harper, born at Peeterheade, in Buchaine'. A large part of the archives of the Keiths, particularly documents relating to the early days of Peterhead, are missing. Doubtless they were scattered on the dissolution of the Keith family estates, and it is possible that Gordon had access to them when he compiled his treatise.

Some doubt exists whether Martin Harper's name was Martin Harper Troup; but I notice that neither Professor Boxer nor his coadjutors in Holland explain the transposition of the elder Tromp's name into 'Harpert Maertenszoon', unless, of course, it was 'Maertenszoon Harpert', though even then the son's name cannot be reconciled with that of his progenitor.

Professor Boxer does not hint at the elder Tromp's supposed Scots antecedents, and one must assume that he has never heard of this age-old claim by Peterhead. That is why I take the liberty of drawing attention to the matter, as a subject of general interest, perhaps, and certainly as one of some moment to the eident author of your article.

IAIN WILKINSON

'RYBBYS' AND 'SUSTERYs'

In the list of articles bought for the *Grace Dieu* of 1418 (Vol. 40, p. 67) we find '29 rybbys' followed by '3 susterys'. Mrs Carpenter Turner suggests that 'susterys' may have been stays, but it seems more likely that they had something to do with the truss or parrel. In the inventories of 1410-12 printed by Sir Allan Moore in the *M.M.* for 1914 we find (p. 168) that the *Carake* had '1 rakke cum 2 susters' and '2 trusparaill cum 4 sustres'. The fact that the '3 susterys' are mentioned directly after '29 rybbys' is significant, because both Manwayring and the anonymous *Treatise on Rigging* of about 1625 describe a parrel as consisting of 'ribs' and 'trucks'. It is tempting to suppose that 'susterys' or 'sustres' were the same as 'trucks', but their small number seems to make this impossible. 'Sister-blocks' obviously suggest themselves, though this may be no more than wishful etymology.

R. C. ANDERSON

THE NORSE VOYAGES TO AMERICA

The present writer was interested to observe, in a recent volume of *M.M.*, a statement to the effect that the first discoverers of North America had been shown 'fairly conclusively' to be Norsemen. Surely there is no doubt whatever on this point? Presumably the idea still persists that the story of these famous voyages is based on the saga-narratives contained in the *Flateyjarbók* and *Hauksbók*. To what extent these accounts are founded on fact will probably never be known, and there are some notable discrepancies between the version set out in the *Flateyjarbók* and that composed by Hauk Erlendsson. But that a series of voyages were, in fact, made to various parts of the American coast cannot be questioned. There is clear and irrefutable evidence on the point, quite apart from the testimony of the sagas. Markland and Vínland are not legendary islands, like the 'Isle of Brasil'. Their existence is taken for granted by contemporary chroniclers. The earliest evidence of all is to be found in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, in which explicit mention is made of Vínland. Adam relates that Sveinn Estridsson, King of Denmark, had told him that, besides Iceland, 'there are many other islands in the great ocean, of which Greenland is not the smallest; it lies further away in the ocean. . . . Moreover he the King of Denmark said that an island had been found by many in this ocean, which has been called Vínland, because there vines grow wild and bear good grapes. Moreover, that there is self-sown grain in abundance, we learned, not from mythological tales, but from reliable account of the Danes.' The *Íslendigabók* of the first Icelandic historian. Ari Fróði, also contains a reference to Vínland. 'Both east and west in the country Greenland they found human habitations, fragments of skin boats and stone implements from which it was evident that the same kind of people had been there as inhabited Wineland and whom the Greenlanders called Skraelings.' Vínland is likewise mentioned in the *Landnámabók*. Further testimony is forthcoming from a thirteenth-century Icelandic geography. 'Southward from Greenland is Helluland, and after that Markland. Thence it is not far to Vínland the Good'. It is also possible that the entries in the Icelandic annals, concerning the discovery of the 'New Land', relate to some part of the North American coast. Lastly, in the Icelandic annals mention is made of both Vínland and Markland under years 1121 and 1347 respectively. 'Eirík, bishop of Greenland, went in search of Vínland'. 'A craft from Greenland which was smaller in size than a small Icelandman. It came into the estuary of Straumfjörð. It had no anchor. There were seventeen men on board who had been on a voyage to Markland and later had been driven to this land.' As late as the year after Crécy, therefore, a Greenland crew had sailed to some part of Newfoundland or Nova Scotia.¹

G. J. MARCUS

¹ Nansen, *In Northern Mists* (1911), *The Book of the Icelanders*, trans. H. Hermannsson (1930), pp. 51-2; *Landnámabók*, ed. Jónsson (1900), p. 165; *Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Aevi*, ed. Werlauff, p. 14; *Íslandske Annaler*, ed. Storm (1888), pp. 19, 142, 213, 337 and 384.

THE TITLE OF LORD HIGH ADMIRAL

The difficulty of establishing the early use of the title of 'Lord High Admiral' lies chiefly in the distinction between the Latin title of *Magnus Admirallus* as used in letters patent, and the English version of it which appears in charters, commissions and similar official documents. As W. G. Perrin pointed out in the most valuable article which has yet appeared on this subject (*Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. xii), the first time a patent uses the title 'Lord High Admiral' in so many words occurs when the office was put into commission after the death of Buckingham in 1628. What has not been made clear is that this particular document is in English and that the title was occasionally used in other official documents before that date.

The medieval form of the title was *haut admiral*. In 1540 this became, in the Latin used for letters patent, *Magnus Admirallus*, which was translated 'Lord Admiral' or 'High Admiral'. That it was almost a hereditary office, with or without naval responsibilities, of the Howard family was pointed out by E. S. de Beer in *Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. xiii. According to Perrin, 'early in the reign of Elizabeth the somewhat splendiferous title of Lord High Admiral (arrived at apparently by combining the other terms) made its appearance in documents of the Admiralty Court'. But as far as can be ascertained at present its first actual use was in 1555. The occasion was the charter founding the Muscovy Company issued on 6 February (later changed to 26 February) which is printed in Hakluyt, the original being among the Patent Rolls at the Public Record Office. The relevant passage, which is in English, runs as follows: 'Whereas William, marquis of Winchester, lord high Treasurer, Henry, earl of Arundel, lord steward of the Household, John, earl of Bedford, lord keeper of the privy seal, William, lord Howard of Effyngham, lord high admiral. . .'

Howard, first baron of Effingham (1510?-73) was the father of the Howard of Armada fame. On 20 March 1554, he had been appointed *Magnus Admirallus. . . et Praefectum Generalem classis et marium nostrorum*, exactly in the same terms as his predecessor, the Earl of Warwick, in 1549. A translation of parts of his patent illustrates the wide powers and duties, as well as the peculiar perquisites, of this great office of state:

' . . Great Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales and the dominions and islands of the same, of the town of Calais and the Marches of the same, of Normandy, Gascony and Aquitaine; also the captain general of the fleet and mariners of England and Ireland; with all jurisdictions etc, offices, fees, profits, wages, emoluments, wreck of the sea, rewards, advantages, commodities and pre-eminence pertaining to the office of Great (or High) Admiral; also the goods of traitors, pirates, homicides and felons; waifs, flotsam and jetsam, lagan and shares, treasure trove, deodands and enemies goods held for derelict or found by chance;¹ lost goods found in the sea or thrown up out of it and all other casualties accruing by sea or shore. . . also anchorages, beaconages. . . royal fishes, namely, sturgeons, whales, porpoises, dolphins, rigges and grampuses and other fishes of great bulk or fatness pertaining to the office by ancient right or custom; all fines etc. adjudged in any court of admiralty of England. . . to examine all maritime courses. . . also to assemble ships of war and sailors, pilots, masters of ships, gunners and others for them, when necessary for the queen's business. . . to appoint and remove Lieutenants, Vice-Admirals, commissaries, presidents, registrars and other necessary officers and ministers. . . also keeping of the statutes of 3 and 4 Edw. I concerning wreck of the sea and the office of coroner, and of 27 Edw. III concerning spoils of the sea coming into the realm' (Rymer, *Foedera*, Vol. xv, p. 382).

Howard vacated the office in 1558 and his Elizabethan successors were appointed in much the same terms. So was the Duke of Buckingham in 1618 (*ibid.* Vol. xvii, p. 124). But two years later a commission was issued (*ibid.* p. 200) in English to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord High Admiral to examine into the extortions of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The fact that the titles of 'Lord Admiral', 'High Admiral' and 'Lord High Admiral' were now all used is illustrated by a reference to Buckingham in another document of the same

1 Waifs—articles washed up by the sea. Lagan—wreckage lying on the bed of the sea. Shares—customs paid by fishermen and portions of prize money. Deodand—expiatory offerings.

year (*ibid.* p. 273) as 'our High Admiral'. On the other hand, in June 1628 he is called 'Lord High Admiral' (*ibid.* Vol. xviii, p. 1027). On 23 August he was assassinated and on 20 September letters patent were issued putting 'the office and place of Lord High Admiral' into commission, but referring to Buckingham as 'the late Lord Admiral'. (Printed by Perrin *op. cit.* Cf. *Institute of Historical Research Bulletin*, 1936, 'Admiralty Administration and Personnel, 1619-1714', by G. F. James and J. J. S. Shaw.) When, however, this Commission was renewed in 1632 reference is made to 'the office of Lord Admiral' (Rymer, *ibid.* Vol. xix, p. 394).

In 1638 the Commission was terminated in favour of the Earl of Northumberland, whose patent of 13 April refers to him as *Magnus Admirallus*, as Latin patents continued to do; but the order of 21 May (Rymer, *ibid.* Vol. xx, p. 225) to the Commission to lay down their powers speaks of them as having been appointed to act 'as well and touching those things which concerned our Navy and Shipping, as those things which concerned the Rights and Jurisdictions of or appertaining to the Office and Place of Lord High Admiral of England; and whereas we have lately made and constituted our right trusty and well beloved Cousin and Counsellor Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral of England. . .?'

Thus until further evidence is forthcoming we may say that the title was first used with reference to the first Howard of Effingham in 1555, but that its official use does not become common until the time of Buckingham. As long as patents were written in Latin the old style of *Magnus Admirallus* continued to be used, but from early in the seventeenth century the English equivalent of Lord High Admiral becomes increasingly common.

CHRISTOPHER LLOYD

MUNGO MURRAY AND FREDERICK H. CHAPMAN

In common with other English authors of early books on shipbuilding, Mungo Murray appears to have attained little eminence in his profession. This is the more unfortunate as he appears to have had an unusually good education, as may be seen in his abridged translations of the works of Bouguer and du Hamel de Monceau. His *Treatise on Shipbuilding and Navigation*, published in 1754, was the best book in English on the subject, and he must be given the credit for having introduced, in print at any rate, the full use of diagonal lines into ship design.

The English writers, as compared with their continental counterparts, were all primarily practical shipwrights, and this training overshadowed their attempts to deal with the theoretical problems of the subject. In their eyes the draught on paper was a necessary preliminary to laying down the shape of the timbers in full size on the mould loft floor. There can be no doubt but that it was this outlook which made them rely so widely on the use of arcs of circles to form their designs. Whatever the theoretical advantages of curves formed in other ways, the comparative ease and accuracy with which the centres and radii of such arcs could be transferred and redrawn on a much larger scale outweighed any slight superiority which might, or might not, appertain to the ellipse or parabola.

Diagonal lines in the body plan had served originally to define the sirmarks, or positions of the butts in the various timbers forming the frames, and were found to be a convenient means of fairing the body and measuring bevels when converting the timbers. While retaining these functions, Murray measured the distance between the middle line and the points of intersection of the frames with each diagonal, and when scaled up could readily transfer these points to the mould loft. As far as laying off was concerned, one form of curve now had no advantage over any other. What was more important, the shipwright was thereby enabled to draw up a table of measurements from the draught which was in itself sufficient to form the whole body plan on the floor of the mould loft. Such tables provided a convenient and permanent means of preserving information and also allowed for lines erased by accident to be redrawn with the maximum accuracy and minimum loss of time. After his time, these tables of 'offsets' came into very general use.

The tables printed in Murray's book included offsets for drawing the draughts of the *Thames*, a Mediterranean trader of 340 tons, and of a French *Privéateur* of 372 tons. A sheer draught of the former vessel, once in the possession of Charnock, was reproduced in the *M.M.* for April 1937.

Some time ago I obtained from the Museum of Naval History, Stockholm, photostats of two draughts in the collection formed by F. H. Chapman. One of these is another copy of the draught of the *Thames*, differing slightly from the Charnock copy, while the second is of the *Lys*, French Privateer of 372 tons. The caption on the last named draught reads: 'London, March 8th 1748. The *Liss*, Privateer of St Malloes, who in this late Warr had taken many prizes from the English, was taken by an English Ship of Warr by over bearing her with carrying sail in a gale of Wind. . . .' The draught agrees perfectly with Murray's offsets.

That there was some association between Murray and Chapman may be inferred from the evidence of these draughts alone. However, the plates in Murray's work also appear to have some bearing on the matter. Of the plates which are signed, those numbered 6, 8 and 9 were drawn by F. Chapman, and these three plates refer to the sector devised by Murray for forming ships' bodies and to examples drawn from his tables of offsets. We also know that Chapman studied in England in the years 1741-4, and that he visited London at least twice in the period 1752-7 (*American Neptune*, July 1946). During his first visit he made a collection of draughts which aroused the suspicion of the authorities at Deptford, where Murray was at that time a shipwright. It appears very probable that the two were acquainted, and that Chapman may have helped Murray when the latter was completing his book. Is anything further known of the connexion between these two shipwrights?

W. SALISBURY

KNOTS PER HOUR

However many and however eminent those who use or have used this expression may be, I submit (with all due respect) that they have been wrong in doing so. A 'knot', when used as a measure of speed, was not a nautical mile of 6000 ft., but a length of 50 ft. on the log-line—assuming that a 30-sec. glass was used. Thus '20 knots per hour' would mean only 1000 ft. in an hour, 'which', in Euclid's words 'is absurd'.

As a possible alternative 'knots per hour' might be used as a measure of *acceleration*; it might mean the gain in speed in an hour, in which case a ship starting from rest would, if credited with '20 knots per hour', be doing a speed of 80 knots at the end of a 4 hr. watch. This again is absurd.

The whole point is whether, in these days of patent logs, a 'knot' is a measure of speed or a measure of distance. If the latter, one would expect such things as distances from one port to another or distances off shore to be given in 'knots' rather than miles. Is this the case? Does the modern seaman speak of the distance from Southampton to New York as '3000 knots' and say that he passes Portland '10 knots off'?

R. C. ANDERSON

MORE ON THE BINNACLE

With reference to Commander May's article on the binnacle (*M.M.* Vol. 40, no. 1, 1954), in the *Instruccion Nautica*, by Diego Garcia de Palacio, published in Mexico in 1587, and reprinted in photostat in Madrid in 1944, one may read on p. 134, under heading 'Vocabulario Nautico', the following: '*Bitacora* es una caxa donde va el aguja de marear, y la lantia, y luz que alumbra de noche.'

Is this book, incidentally, as the preface to the modern edition claims, the first shipbuilding hand-book with plans ever printed?

J. DE C.-IRELAND

The extremely interesting article, 'The Binnacle', by Commander W. E. May (*M.M.*, Vol. 40, No. 1) concludes by suggesting that more information is desirable about *habitable*, *bitacula*, and *bitacula*.

Commander May notes that *Jal* gives *bitacula* as Medieval Spanish. It can, however, be pointed out that A. Chaves in 1538 defined *bitacula* as follows: 'es una cámara pequeña, que va encima de la puente del castillo de popa, donde va el piloto y la aguja de marear, y ampolletas e instrumentos del piloto'. Percival in 1623 defined *bitacula de nao* as follows: 'the place where

the light is kept in a ship, a place in a ship where they keepe the compasse'. The *Tesoro lexicográfico* gives two other definitions of the word. One is by Oudin (1607); the other by an Italian lexicographer. It seems obvious that *bitácola* had almost completely replaced *bitácula* by the early seventeenth century.

As for *bitácora*, García de Palacios in 1587 defined it as follows: 'es una caxa donde va la aguja de marear y la lantia y luz que alumbra de noche'. The *Tesoro lexicográfico* gives definitions for 1600?, 1607, 1614, 1617, 1620, 1623, 1673, 1675, 1693, 1705, 1722.

The *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española*, an incomplete equivalent to the *O.E.D.*, gives the following definition: 'especie de armario, fijo a la cubierta e inmediato al timón, en que se pone la aguja de marear'. The earliest uses of the word recorded by this historical dictionary are found in the works of Lope de Vega. It also cites two other examples of its use: 'Para que la aguja manifiesta la dirección de la quilla de la nave, esto es, la dirección de su mayor largo, se sujeta sobre la cubierta un armario llamado *bitácora*, cuyo testero se pone perpendicular a la quilla (Ciscar, *Curso de marina*, vol. iv, p. 40) and 'La *bitácora* es un armario dentro del cual se coloca el compás auspendido por los ejes del círculo del mortero' (Fernández Fontecha, *Navegación*, p. 10).

Other definitions are found in the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (*Diccionario de autoridades*) of the early eighteenth century and the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (16th ed., 1939?, p. 178).

A few remarks may be made concerning the etymologies of the Spanish word. Ayala, in 1693, states that he is ignorant of the word's origin, although he does not doubt it to be of foreign origin. The *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* states that it could be taken from the English *bitaki*, a word that I fail to find either in the *O.E.D.* or in Commander May's list. The *D.H.L.E.* and the *D.L.E.* both derive the Spanish word from the French *bitacle*, which in turn they connect with French *habitable* from the Latin *habitaculum*.

Salvador García Franco's *Historia del arte y ciencia de navegar* (Madrid, 1947, Vol. I, pp. 35-7) also feels that the word is a corruption of the French *habitable* from the Latin *habitaculum*. He notes that *binnacle* in Italian is *stacola* and states that 'De todas suertes, se ve que la habitación dió nombre al conjunto'. On p. 35 of his study he reproduces as figure 6: 'Armario bitácora; según una lámina del libro del marqués de la Victoria (Museo Naval, Madrid).'

In Spanish several other spellings are found. Among these are: *vitacora*, *uitácula*, *uitácora*.

For fuller bibliographical details for the works cited see the introduction to the *Tesoro lexicográfico* and the present writer's bibliography of Spanish nautical dictionaries (*M.M.*, January 1951).

HENSLEY C. WOODBRIDGE

GANGERS

In the February *M.M.* A. C. Stott asks for information upon cable gangers.

After the bower anchors had been provided with chain cables, the waist anchors continued for many years to have hemp cables. If the hemp sheet cable were bent purely as a precautionary measure it was exposed to the weather; if one waited till the use of the sheet anchor was imminent, it might be difficult to bend. These objections were met by the use of the ganger, which was a piece of chain cable bent to the sheet anchor and long enough to reach within the hawsehole. Its use had also the advantage of making that part of the cable most exposed to chafe when the anchor was on the bottom, of a highly resistant material. From the anchor the ganger was stopped to eye bolts in the side in a line below the forecastle ports and parallel with the sheet, until the region of the cathead was reached. To render it inconspicuous it was painted the same colour as the part of the ship that formed its background—black where it lay against the black topside, 'yellow' where it crossed the 'yellow' strakes.

The above information was obtained (and noted) from an old man-of-war's man I knew when I was a boy. If my memory is not at fault, gangers are mentioned in Alston's *Seamanship*.

D. L. DENNIS

In reply to A. C. Stott, the *ganger* was a length of cable, two shackles or more, which was kept shackled to the Sheet Anchor, so that it might be ready for letting go at short notice.

The Ganger was stopped to eye bolts along the ship's side, brought in through the sheet hawse-pipe, and stoppered on the cable deck, ready for shackling to hawser or cable.

A. MACDERMOTT

QUERIES

14. PRIEST OF THE PARISH. Is this game peculiar to the Royal Navy? When was it first played and how did it originate? Also what does its complicated procedure and dialogue symbolize?

To the uninitiated the game consists of an exchange of dialogue in a 'court', presided over by the 'Priest of the Parish' assisted by 'My man John' in an endeavour to find the lost 'Considering cap' of the Priest. The slightest slip in dialogue calls for a forfeit.

When real experts are playing it is often difficult so to trip anyone. Then such things as this may happen. I have heard 'My man John's' attention directed to the fact that one of the players 'has the effrontery to offend the dignity of the Court in that he has so far forgotten himself as to appear therein improperly dressed. Namely that he dares to wear upon the lowest portion of his anatomy garments emblazoned in such a manner that it would be possible to play a game of chequers thereon.'

(The accused was in every way correctly turned out in Mess Undress except that he had black 'clocks' on his evening socks.)

I believe that the game may have come from France via prisoners captured in the Napoleonic wars. Can any reader throw any light on this?

BRIDPORT

15. ACTION ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN. I have recently purchased the book, *Wooden Walls In Action* by Mr Frank C. Bowen. On p. 42 of the book is a description of the action fought on Lake Champlain in October 1776. In the description it is stated that the British flotilla was in the command of Captain Douglas, R.N.

The Sandwich Papers, Vol. I, Ch. III, gives considerable information on the British Forces in North America in 1776, and a description of the action on Lake Champlain. From reading the introduction to ch. III of Vol. I of *The Sandwich Papers* the Captain Douglas referred to by Mr Bowen is no doubt Captain Charles Douglas of H.M.S. *Isis*. From the correspondence it is probable that Captain Douglas was present at the action in one of H.M. ships. However, on p. 185 of Vol. I of *The Sandwich Papers*, Sir Guy Carleton in his letter to the First Lord states that Captain Thomas Pringle, R.N., was in command of the British flotilla. This is substantiated by Captain Pringle's Report of Proceedings to the First Lord which is shown on pp. 186 to 189 of the same volume. Who is correct, the Naval Record Society or the author of *Wooden Walls In Action*?

H. F. PULLEN

16. PICARDS. Is anything known of the form or rig of the picards? The name appears in some ordinances relating to the duties of the Water Bailiff at Bristol, dated 1488, e.g. 'Picard or other bote'. Leland, under Barnstaple, mentions 'Picartes and other smaull vessels'. Dr Anderson has pointed out to me references in *The Mariner's Mirror*, Vols. 5-7. In these Stuart Bruce asked about 'Lord Kennedy's pykkert' mentioned in some accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in 1497. He was answered by Morton Nance suggesting that they were like the Bristol Channel pikard 'of a date much before 1497'. Mr Nance further suggested the word might come from the Spanish *pícar*, harpooning, indicating a type of boat used in whaling, like a ballinger. This suggestion leads to the comparatively modern Clovelly fishing boats called picarooners. Vernon Boyle says that the name, from the Spanish for sea-robber, was given to them when they first appeared about 1880 (*Devon Harbours*, p. 190). Does this name, in fact, have deeper roots?

GRAHAME FARR

17. M. H. TROMP. Arising out of Professor Boxer's most interesting article about M. H. Tromp (*M.M.*, Vol. 40, no. 1, 1954), may I enquire whether Blake did in fact ever say that the first duty of a sailor was 'to keep the foreigner from fooling us'?—any more than in fact he was responsible for another remark of a similar nature about which there has been discussion previously in the *Journal*.

I have an idea, which may be quite wrong, that English historians have tried to give Blake a 'non-political' character because they have found it hard to admit that their first outstanding naval leader served a Republican regime, and, as far as I can see, quite happily.

J. DE C. IRELAND

18. 'OCULI' IN EUROPEAN CRAFT. I note in the October (1940) issue of the German periodical *Monatshefte für Fischerei* that the small fishing boats of the lower Elbe known as 'Buttjolle' carried on each bow under their official fishing numbers a carved 'oculus'.

Can any member give any information about 'oculi' on other craft of Northern Europe?

R. DE KERCHOVE

19. HADLEY'S QUADRANT. From time to time, in excellent articles and well-prepared books on nautical history, I have read the statement that in 1733 Hadley invented a spirit-level attachment for his newly invented quadrant.

Because of a reference that I located a number of years ago, I have questioned that statement, but there may be a confirming reference that I have not been able to find.

In my own research I found that in 1733 Hadley did invent a spirit-level but it was a complicated affair—reservoir, tubing, and petcocks—and apparently was designed solely for use on a common quadrant. This is found in *Phil. Trans.* Vol. xxxvii, p. 430, Dec. 1733. In the article the suggestion is made that a staff could be attached to the quadrant to support it. Thus the level must have been for land use exclusively. The quadrant described and illustrated is a typical quarter-circle; but instead of a line and bob, an index arm was pivoted at the right-angle corner. When the instrument was employed for an altitude observation the right-angle corner was 'down', the arc with its scale was 'up' and the spirit-level was attached to the horizontal edge. In my opinion this type of level was not adaptable for his quadrant of reflection.

If any of the readers of *Mariner's Mirror* can supply a reference or authority either pro or con, I would appreciate it indeed.

GRENVILLE D. ZERFASS

20. PROPULSION IN MYTHOLOGY. There is much evidence that the Nordic people long pulled their sea craft before taking to sail. With this would agree an episode in their mythology: while the Ás (gods) would use sailing ships, when a god of the older Wane dynasty went fishing for Jörmungandr (the great Sea Serpent), he *pulled* his ship; as far as I can remember having read long ago in some epitome of the Eddas. Can any one give me the precise reference and quotation?

GUILLEUX LA ROËRIE

ANSWERS

13. (1954.) TUG-BOATS. In the days before steam, there was really no type of vessel that can be said to have carried out the work now done by steam tugs.

Towing with row-boats was sometimes resorted to in the case of a ship disabled and incapable of carrying sail, either to tow her out of action, or clear of a navigational danger, or when shifting berth in a harbour. Any boats available and of sufficient man-power, could be used.

The tow-rope was, for choice, a light grass hawser, as there would be comparatively little strain on it.

Towing by boats was only effective in calm weather and with no adverse tide or current. When in soundings a ship would preferably lay out kedge anchors and warp herself up to them, or in the

case of small ships such as brigs, up to 500 tons, long sweeps might be run out through the gun-ports, and the ship rowed to her anchorage, or to an offing, as the case might be. This was a much more expeditious method than towing with boats. When a disabled ship was towed by another ship, under sail at sea, ordinary towing methods such as are in common use to-day were employed.

When moving great ships, such as the *Victory*, in or out of harbour, warping buoys were largely employed.

The effectiveness of towing with boats was increased by attaching a heavy weight to the line to absorb the jerk.

I have had some experience with kedging, sweeping, and boat-towing, and in point of effectiveness I would place them in that order.

A. MACDERMOTT

6. (1954.) NAMES OF MONITORS. The naming of the large monitors was most involved. As far as I can make out the various changes were as follows:

Abercrombie. Originally laid down as M. 1, then named *Admiral Farragut*, then *Farragut* and finally *Abercrombie*.

Havelock. Originally M. 2, then *General Grant* and finally *Havelock*.

Raglan. Originally M. 3, then *Robert E. Lee*, then *Lord Raglan* and finally *Raglan*.

Roberts. Originally M. 4, then *Stonewall Jackson*, then *Earl Roberts* and finally *Roberts*.

Earl of Peterborough was originally *Peterborough* and was renamed on 8 March 1915.

General Crauford was originally *Crauford* and was renamed on 8 March 1915.

General Wolfe was originally *Wolfe*. Renamed *Sir James Wolfe* on 15 February 1915 and finally renamed on 8 March 1915.

Lord Clive was originally *Clive* and renamed on 8 March 1915.

Sir Thomas Picton was originally the *Picton*.

All this renaming took place before the ships were launched.

I have never understood why the *Lord Raglan* and the *Earl Roberts* should have shed their titles while the last named five above should have been honoured with theirs.

I think I was once told that the four American names were chosen by Churchill when he was First Lord.

An interesting point about the name *Abercrombie* is that when the new monitor was built in the last war, Mr Carr Laughton who was then Admiralty Librarian, brought up the point that the proper spelling should be *Abercromby*. The Ships' Names Committee, of which I was a member, decided to stick to the *IE* because the last ship had borne the name so spelled.

T. D. MANNING

6. (1954.) NAMES OF MONITORS. The 14-in. gunned monitors were named *Admiral Farragut*, *General Grant*, *Robert E. Lee* and *Stonewall Jackson* by the First Lord presumably in acknowledgement of their being armed with Bethlehem guns ordered for the Greek battlecruiser *Salamis* which was never completed. They were launched as such, and my photos show '*Farragut* arriving at Portsmouth' and '*Stonewall Jackson* leaving the Tyne' in June '15.

I understand that their names were changed to those of British generals by the King's wish about the same time.

OSCAR PARKES

11. (1954.) FRANK MILD MAY. The lines in question come from *The Faerie Queene*, book IV, canto xi, stanza xi. Spenser is describing the wedding of the Thames and the Medway.

MARION MORTON

10. (1954.) A LOST TREATISE BY JOHN CHARNOCK. This question was asked in 1919 (p. 32) and has not yet been answered. In a Note in 1921 (p. 118) I mentioned a large collection of draughts made by Charnock and then in my possession. These I suggested might have been the source which he intended to use. The whole collection is now in the National Maritime Museum.

R. C. ANDERSON

9. (1936.) CHILINGOE. The late R. Stuart Bruce submitted this query with a quotation from Campbell's *Naval History* concerning the capture of a snow and the burning of seven enemy chilingoes. No answer seems ever to have been provided, and I am unable to locate the quotation in the edition of Campbell available here in Washington.

The temptation is irresistible, however, to link chilingoe with the Mediterranean type which is featured in the volumes of the U.S. Navy's published documents concerning the Barbary Wars under spellings ranging all the way from *guerlinochiccia* to *kirlangis*. The context is usually an Algerine or Tripoline cruiser of 4 to 18 guns, sometimes Greek-built; once a 'carling geese or xebeck' is mentioned, another time a 'xebeck or carlanguish lattines &c.' and still again a 'guerlinguich or polacre'.

It seems to be common nowadays to think of the xebec as a kind of lateen barquentine; here a consular report of 1802 in *Barbary Wars*, Vol. 11, p. 71, is useful: 'A Xebec has sort of a goose Stern and not a regular bowsprit; it is as one small spar. Her masts in general is all in one; that is, has no tops. A Polacre has a square stern, regular Bowsprit and Gib boom & no tops.' Unfortunately we are not told what distinguished the *kirlangis* from the xebec and polacre, but distinction there must have been, for on page 312 of the same volume another consul reports: 'A Kirlanghie and a Polacre of 18 guns each, and a Xebec of 16 were also ready and preparing for sea.'

Nor are the dictionaries of much assistance. The *Larousse Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle* defines *kirlanghish* as 'petit bâtiment léger, qui accompagne toujours le vaisseau amiral, chez les Turcs'. Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book* gives '*kerlanguishes*. The swift-sailing boats of the Bosphorus. The name signifies swallows.' Smyth's etymology appears to be correct in this case, for modern Turkish dictionaries, spelling the word *kirlangiç*, gives the English equivalent as swallow or martin. I have not been able to find a Turkish dictionary that gives a maritime sense for the word.

Now perhaps someone can tell me if the burning of seven enemy chilingoes has a Mediterranean locale, so that the association with *kirlangis* is justified.

JOHN LYMAN

2. (1954.) KATAHDIN. Mention of the United States Ram-ship by Mr Adam Woodward in the February number of the *Mariner's Mirror* prompts me to give the following particulars in the hope that they may be of some assistance.

A paper was read at the Proceedings in London of the Institute of Naval Architects, 1894, by Captain W. H. Jaques, U.S. Navy, in which he deals very fully with *Katahdin*. The paper was subsequently published, with plans, in the *Transactions of the Institute of Naval Architects*, 1894.

ARTHUR P. PEET

3. (1929.) BRIG-CUTTERS OR CUTTER-BRIGS. Some time ago I wrote a Note provoked by the Answer on brig-cutters which appeared on page 232, Vol. 39. Since then I happened to see in 'The Vocabulary of Terms', an appendix of Fincham's *Outline of Ship-Building*: 'Brig-cutter. Cutter-built vessels rigged as brigs.' Nothing is said about their bowsprits, but I think it is quite certain that the only cutter part of the vessels was the method of planking the hull. Apparently it was a common type, for Fincham gives the translation of the term in half a dozen languages.

D. L. DENNIS

3. (1929.) BRIG-CUTTERS OR CUTTER-BRIGS. With respect to the long-standing question in *The Mariner's Mirror* about 'Brig-cutters' or 'Cutter-brigs'; the answer seems to appear in the Admiralty Draughts at Greenwich. For example there is the draught of the cutter *Swallow* built at Dover in 1779 (Box 52, Register no. 3638) showing that this vessel with her sister-ship *Drake* were converted to brig-rig 'when half-built'. There were other examples such as *Rambler*, *Trimmer* and the Dutch prize *De Braak*, where large cutters were altered to the brig rig between 1779 and 1800. I suggest that the terms in question were used to designate such vessels and had no other meaning. I have also seen, somewhere, the term 'Cutter-schooner' and there are examples,

among the cutter draughts in the Admiralty Collection, where cutters were likewise converted to schooners—the *Pioneer* and *Pigmy* of 1809, for instance. With respect to clench-built brigs, there are plans of brigs so planked, and in no instance do the draughts refer to these other than as ‘brigs’—except in one case where a brig-rigged revenue craft is called a ‘Vessel’ on the draught. As a great many of the brigs of 1778–90 appear to have been built clench, and as these individuals are not referred to as ‘brig-cutters’ the use of clench plank does not appear to be the determining factor but, rather, the general hull-form employed along with the ‘brig’ or ‘brigg’ rig. It is not to be determined, in all instances, that the draughts of early cutters represent clench-built craft—at any rate the plans of cutters after 1806 do show that many were caravel-planked.

H. I. CHAPELLE

11. (1953.) SPAR TORPEDO. The *torpille portée* was still in existence, for eventual use by picket boats (canots à vapeur), in the French Navy in the early 1900’s (maybe later). In exercises, the fulmicotton in the actual torpedo was replaced by a token detonator and/or the real torpedo was replaced by a jury bundle of pieces of fulmicotton. This I saw in 1905 or 1906. One, at least, of the ship’s picket boats had fittings for rigging the spar.

GUILLEUX LA ROËRIE

REVIEWS

A NARRATIVE OF MY PROFESSIONAL ADVENTURES (1790–1839). By SIR WILLIAM HENRY DILLON, K.C.H., Vice-Admiral of the Red. Edited by Michael A. Lewis, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. Vol. 1: 1790–1802. The Navy Records Society, Royal Naval College, Greenwich. Vol. xciii: MCMLIII. 9 × 6 inches; 468 + xxxiv pages; illustrations, 2 plates and 2 maps. Price not given.

Dillon’s Narrative has one special claim on our attention. He wrote the bulk of it out when he was 40: 30 years after going to sea, and 19 years before retiring. All the other ‘Recollections’ we have—I cannot think of any exception—were written long after the events they describe, after retirement from the Service, often at a great age, sometimes almost entirely from memory, and coloured by ‘the light that never was, on sea or land’. ‘He gives, perhaps [says the Editor], a better picture than any of them of life as led in H.M. ships in Revolutionary War days: not better reading, but a truer—and much fuller—*picture*.’

The picture Dillon presents is distorted, to a degree which the reader will judge for himself, by his inordinate self-esteem. Dillon is always right. He was a small man and of doubtful birth—conditions both making for self-assertion. He lacked the human sympathy and sense of fun which irradiate the ‘Recollections’ of James Anthony Gardner and the novels of Marryat. Still, he shows us the Royal Navy through the eyes of an average officer who had to make his way in the Service with little help but his own courage and determination, and the ‘interest’ he could acquire by his own efforts—not always edifying.

Dillon went to sea at the age of ten on the occasion of the ‘Spanish Armament’ of 1790, in a 74-gun ship of Lord Howe’s fleet. On the outbreak of war in 1792 he went to a frigate on convoy duty and thence to the *Defence*, Captain James Gambier, who remained his patron, and a useful one. Here we have a view of the Glorious First of June as seen by a midshipman on the gun-deck. Most of his later service recorded in this volume was in the West Indies. Dillon spoke French well enough to pass as a Frenchman; this brought him various strange duties, including a mission to Victor Hugues, in which Dillon showed no little courage and address.

The chief interest of the book lies in what Dillon says of the relations between senior and junior

officers, and between officers and men. Dillon himself led by a blend of fear and admiration, leaning rather to the former; and the quality he most respected was firmness. A special point of interest is the great trouble many captains took in the bringing up of their young officers.

There are many other matters of interest described by Dillon which others have left out as being common knowledge: for example, how the *Defence* worked her guns. 'We had instructions below to lower the ports whilst loading the guns, that the enemy's musketry fire might not tell upon our men, and also to fire with a slight elevation, as the upper deck guns would be depressed a few degrees, thus making a cross fire upon the Frenchman.' Professor Lewis speaks of flexible handles to rammers, etc., as a recent innovation, but they appear in Mainwaring's *Seaman's Dictionary*, written about 1620, and may well have been used by the *Revenge* in her last fight, if not earlier. Professor Lewis asks how orders reached the guns, and observes that the *Glory* had a tube from the quarterdeck to the tiller. There is little clear evidence, but I should judge that there was some generally accepted practice within which captains applied methods of their own. Orders were probably passed by message and speaking-trumpet, and broadsides controlled by a directing gun. George Elliot says that his own system was adopted by order of the Duke of Clarence in 1827, see *M.M.* Vol. 35, p. 328. I do not think voice-pipes were in general use; I recall a story of Admiral Richmond's, of a captain of the old school who thought it unbecoming to order a torpedo to be fired except by messenger.

Dillon says that a new method of lying-to was adopted in 1794 by the fleet off Brest. It had been the custom to lash the helm alee and keep the maintopsail aback. 'But it was found by experience to be a better plan to allow the ship to have headway, by keeping the helm in motion, and a close-reefed maintopsail with the foresail set.' Using the power of the helm is advocated in a Treatise of 1793 by an Officer of the India Company.

Dillon says that a French officer prisoner was struck by the rapidity with which our ships were tacked; 'often within five minutes, whereas the French ships, he told us, were always a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour under that evolution.'

Dillon's intense self-satisfaction, the editor suggests, must have been a sore trial to his captains, in spite of his courage, determination and ability; to quote the famous certificate, he 'conducted himself entirely to his own satisfaction'. Speculation as to what they really thought of him adds to the interest of his narrative, though pompous and prolix. Professor Lewis has done well, in what must have been a laborious task, to give us so much of value.

A. H. TAYLOR

THE NATION AND THE NAVY. By CHRISTOPHER LLOYD. London: The Cresset Press. 1954. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; 288 pages; 11 plates. 18s.

This all-embracing portrait of the Royal Navy, covering a period of over 400 years in under 300 pages, is a noteworthy achievement. Its purpose is described by the author as follows: 'to provide a brief social history of the Royal Navy as a profession, and to show how it was used as an instrument of national policy... Men and manners have been my chief concern, because there already exists a sufficient number of books on the evolution of the warship... My second object has been to write a general narrative which integrates naval with national history. There seems to be a particular need for this because naval history is commonly regarded as a technical subject lying outside the range of the ordinary historian... To do all this within the compass of a single volume requires the exclusion of tactical details except in the description of the great events of history, such as the Armada or the battle of Trafalgar...' Dare the reviewer hope that there is still room for new publications on the evolution of the warship? Anyway, certain obscurities in the history of her development, which ought to be cleared up, are noted by Mr Lloyd on pages 10 and 12.

The Nation and the Navy is packed with information, well documented in 10 pages of references to printed books and manuscripts. The history is brightly, quickly, even racily developed and the story often interrupted and illuminated with pertinent extracts from contemporary writings. In consequence, this book should prove a splendid tonic for history teachers and history readers who

will also be pleased to discover the origins of many of the otherwise well-known naval stories and legends. The book suggests interesting approaches to the teaching of naval history and, in particular, on how to link naval history with the political and colonial history, sometimes taught with undue emphasis on military operations on land, ignoring the important naval campaigns which so often accompanied successful diplomacy.

The commentary on men and manners will appeal to readers satiated with the bloodshed of battles ashore or afloat. Many of us remember with pleasure, and have on our bookshelves, Sir Geoffrey Callender's *Sea Kings of Britain*, which he wrote as a history reader for naval cadets at Osborne; a leisurely book, carrying us over three centuries in three volumes and ending abruptly at Trafalgar. The Sea Kings were selected British admirals, and Sir Geoffrey concentrated on their biographies and considered naval history in terms of fleets and fighting instructions and brilliant leadership. In *The Naval Side of British History* Sir Geoffrey linked political and naval history with some success, but this was the history of battles. Mr Lloyd's new book owes more to Professor Lewis's *The Navy of Britain*, with its close-knit argument describing the historical origins of the Royal Navy, its ships, officers and men, administration, weapons and actions.

Mr Lloyd writes with a present-day outlook which adds vividness to his narrative and sometimes, as it seems to the reviewer, rends too sharply the fog of time. Thus King Harry looks at big guns with the eyes of a Jacky Fisher (page 8); Elizabethan seamen sail 'by guess and by God', as did submariners in the 1914-18 war (page 15), a description which might perhaps have been used more effectively in its own place; and somehow, too, Blake's record heartens ambitious R.N.V.R. officers (page 45).

The reviewer would suggest that, although it may be significant that the standard gunnery text-book (if you can call it such) for the navy of Elizabeth I, was translated from the Italian (page 3), it is even more significant that excellent iron guns were cast in England and sold abroad, despite laws to the contrary; perhaps the art of gunnery was easier, in those days, than the practice of gun-founding. 'Hammock' is a word of West Indian rather than Spanish origin (page 7) and, spelt 'Hammocks', appears in N. Bailey's dictionary of 1721, defined as 'little hanging Beds on Ship-board'. Regarding warship development, whilst admitting that all is not as plain as a pike-staff and allowing the Portuguese a prior claim to be the discoverers by sea, yet it seems to the reviewer that Englishmen had more to do with seafaring and seafighting and shipbuilding in the Middle Ages than Mr Lloyd would appear to allow (page 17). Naval inventories, accounts and pictures, such as those on the seals of English seaport towns, provide a body of evidence difficult to ignore. The Armada medal inscribed 'Flavit et dissipati sunt 1588' (with Jehovah puffing out of a storm cloud) was Dutch and therefore probably not struck to the order of the English queen (page 30). The *Sovereign of the Seas* was built at Woolwich, not Deptford (page 66). Perhaps to call the *Centurion's* voyage round the world 'one of the greatest feats of endurance on record' (page 93) is an overstatement; there were many more desperate struggles less well advertised. It certainly produced some fine officers. With regard to Cook's promotion from Master to Lieutenant (page 113), it is noteworthy that Captain (later Admiral) John Campbell, who had been Hawke's Flag Captain at Quiberon Bay, and who introduced Cook to the Council of the Royal Society, had himself been a merchant seaman who had volunteered into the Royal Navy and sailed round the world in the *Centurion* as a Petty Officer. To say that 'William 4 introduced every conceivable sartorial absurdity' (page 146) into naval uniform when he was Lord High Admiral in 1827 is exaggerating his efforts; it would be fairer to say that naval uniform was following the fashion of the dandy; uniform, in fact, still followed civilian fashion, as can be seen by comparing pictures of uniformed naval officers with other period fashion plates. The Yeoman of Signals was instituted in 1816, and the story of Nelson's famous signal, and Lieutenant Pasco's amendment is told by Commander Mead in *Trafalgar Signals*, 1938 (the account on page 152 wants amending accordingly). Nelson's prayer certainly ends with 'Amen' written three times and Carola Oman confirms this in the reference given (pages 189 and 275).

To sum up, *The Nation and the Navy* is a handy encyclopaedia of British naval history within its period. The middle two-thirds of the book, covering the years 1650-1800, seem the most

satisfying to the reviewer; perhaps because the best work done by modern naval historians covers these years; remembering that two great naval wars have been fought and won since Sir Julian Corbett wrote his naval histories of enduring value. The early portion is, but probably only in the reviewer's eyes, a little obscure, perhaps because the early history of shipbuilding and navigation is still very much under discussion and on that account cannot yet be satisfactorily dealt with, shortly yet clearly. At the other end of the book, we meet with scientific progress (which can only be properly explained in technical language) and events, catastrophic events, too close to us, not yet worked out, not ready, in fact, for calm text-book judgement. The author's style and presentation fit best the middle period, the age of reason but, nevertheless, there is plenty of meat to suit all tastes throughout the book which is a perfect mine of information, generally most aptly fitted together. The illustrations, mostly well-known, illustrate the text and are usefully described in the table of contents. The index is elaborate and the reviewer can testify to its being fool-proof. In short, *The Nation and the Navy* should prove a popular exposition of a subject, the Royal Navy, whose traditions interest very many people.

G. P. B. NAISH

MAPS AND THEIR MAKERS. By G. R. CRONE. London: Hutchinson's University Library. 1953. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ inches; 181 pages; 7 maps. 8s. 6d.

To write a comprehensive introduction to the history of mapmaking within the prescribed limits of Hutchinson's University Library demands a discipline which all scholars do not possess and it seems to the reviewer that Mr Crone, who is the Librarian and Map Curator of the Royal Geographical Society, has been entirely successful and produced a book not only readable and reliable but remarkably complete within its limits, and this without the aid of a wealth of illustrations. Members of our Society will note, too, the important place he gives to hydrography and chartmaking in particular as well as to mapmaking in general; indeed, he is at pains to show that until the coastline has been correctly delineated it is impossible to make a good job of mapping the interior and it is usually quicker to follow a coastline by sea than to walk along the shore, and therefore the mapmaker was to a great extent dependent, in the first place, on the chartmaker.

The chart and compass are complementary aids and came into general use together, the chart a little after the compass in the nature of things. Early navigation was cradled in the Mediterranean and a remarkable type of sea-chart, known as the 'portolano', has survived in a number of examples, the earliest dating from a little before A.D. 1300. The name 'portolano' was first applied to the written sailing directions and was later also given to the chart which accompanied and illustrated these directions. This form of chart, drawn on vellum, has a most convincing Mediterranean coastline, with islands shown and many places named round the coast and the principal towns sometimes pictured. There is little inland detail except for mountain ranges. These charts have both scales and a system of compass roses linked by loxodromes or lines of equal bearing.

The Portuguese sailors perforce made charts as they pushed on south down the African coast. At first they continued to find their latitude from observations of the Pole Star and had to change over to observing the meridian altitude of the sun when they had proceeded so far south as to drop the Pole Star below the horizon. The table of the sun's declination was more difficult to evolve than the much simpler correction for the height of the Pole Star. Observing with astrolabe or quadrant, the Portuguese pilot could obtain his latitude by observation with some accuracy but could only deduce his longitude by dead reckoning. Chartmakers soon found that the 'portolano' of the Mediterranean, which ignored the earth's curvature, was a poor basis on which to build charts of the discoveries, particularly those to the north and south. Unfortunately, few early Portuguese charts have survived. Geographers, on the other hand, were faced with the problem of fitting the new discoveries into the traditional world framework devised by Herodotus and Ptolemy of Alexandria in the second century A.D., and revived in the atlases published under Ptolemy's name in the fifteenth century.

Of course, the earliest charts are Portuguese, Spanish or Italian; nevertheless, we can remember

with some satisfaction early British work in cartography, such as Molyneux's famous globe of 1592 or the mathematical formula worked out by Edward Wright for the setting out of Mercator's projection, the projection which Sir Robert Dudley, exiled in Florence, used when producing his splendid atlas, 'Arcano del Mare', in 1646. At the end of the seventeenth century, although English navigators were gaining fame, and names like Newton, Flamsteed, Halley and Dampier are world famous, the charts in general use were still Dutch with some local English competition. When during the eighteenth century the British Admiralty encouraged local surveys at home and in the colonies, one man at least amongst the surveyors, James Cook, was to rise above his fellows to achieve world-wide renown and to plot mile upon mile of distant coastline as well as destroying, for all time, the myth of a great south land. Harrison's timekeeper, copied by Larcum Kendall, and carried by Cook on his second and third voyages, enabled him, for the first time in history, to carry his longitude accurately with him from place to place and make charts such as had never been made before. By founding the office of Hydrographer to the Navy in 1795, on the French model, the British Admiralty prepared the way for continued British hydrographic achievement throughout the nineteenth century, when H.M. Surveying Ships were sent out to complete the charting of the navigable coasts and oceans of the world. Alexander Dalrymple, the first Hydrographer (who had already served the East India Company in the same capacity), had made a vast collection of original surveys which he brought with him to the Admiralty. His name deserves more attention in appraising this country's maritime history, for charts go hand in hand with sea power.

All these things, and more, are discussed with authority in *Maps and their Makers*, and it seems to the reviewer that this might be described once again as the book no lady's or gentleman's library should be without; its size is handy, yet it contains much information that she or he will look for in vain within the calf-bound quartos which filled the more spacious libraries of our ancestors.

G. P. B. NAISH

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The Society has made an excellent beginning, and readers of *The Mariner's Mirror* should welcome a new source of naval information, which will supplement our own work on this side of the Irish Channel. We can only wish the new venture the success it richly deserves.

J. R. POWELL

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